

California Historical Society

Quarterly

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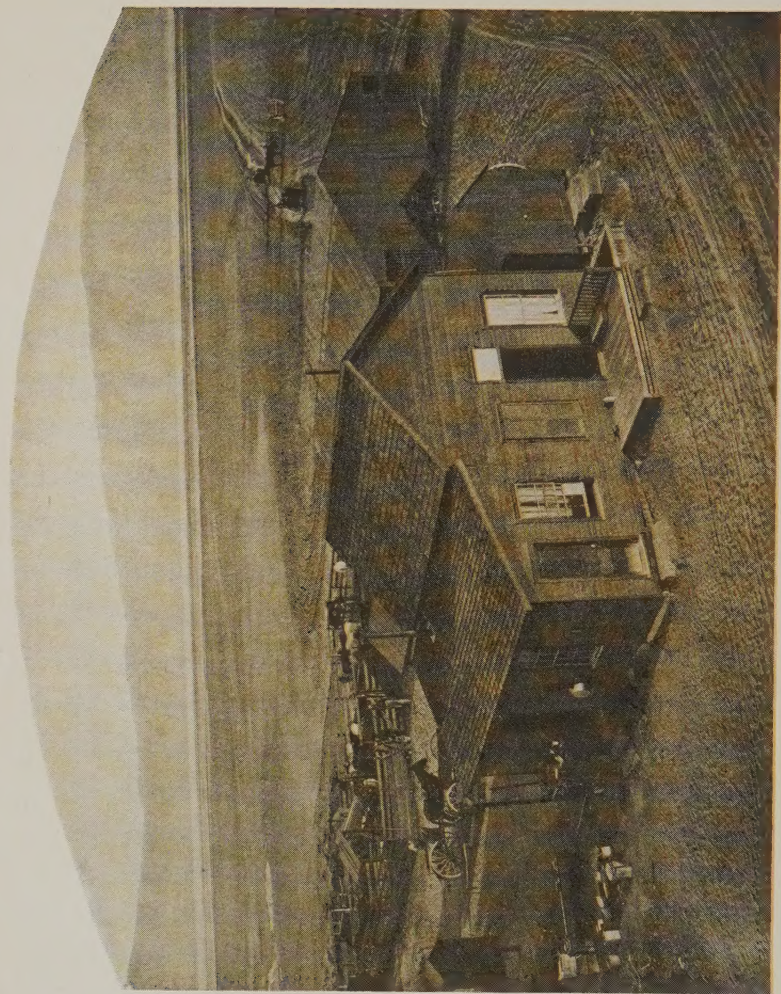
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SEARLES' DWELLING AT BORAX WORKS, SEARLES LAKE, 1880

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JUNE 1938

BANDITS, BORAX AND BEARS

A TRIP TO SEARLES LAKE IN 1874

Translated from the French of Edmond Leuba

By ALLEN L. CHICKERING

INTRODUCTION

IN 1926, while looking through a book store on the left bank of the Seine in Paris, I purchased a small book entitled *La Californie et Les Etats du Pacifique—Souvenirs et Impressions*, by Edmond Leuba. It had been published there in 1882 and related experiences of the author in and about California between the years 1868 and 1877. Among the most interesting of these was an account of a trip to Searles Lake in 1874 in which Leuba refers to a well-known San Francisco family, and repeats a story told to him by a member of this family, John Searles. This account, together with some of the narration leading up to it, I have translated into English, as I believe it of considerable historical value.

TRANSLATION OF LEUBA'S TEXT

In March, 1874, I went to examine, in the great Mojave Desert between the counties of Inyo and San Bernardino, certain borax deposits covering the bed of an ancient lake, which had dried up probably during the period when this entire Pacific Coast was so terribly unsettled by subterranean convulsions. I arrived at Los Angeles, from which I had approximately 270 miles to travel to reach the borax lake in the mountains of the Slate Ranges, across a country absolutely uninhabited. To make the trip on horseback at the rate of twenty-five or thirty miles a day without knowing where to find water, a shelter for

the night and a meal from time to time, appeared to me to be rather an adventurous undertaking, so I sought in Los Angeles a wagon and a guide to conduct me into this inhospitable country. This decision I made especially because my old friend M. de B., offered to accompany me.

It was not without trouble that I found a [spring] wagon large enough to contain our bedding, our provisions for the trip, some cooking utensils and two sacks of barley for the horses. The team for this wagon was composed of two forlorn mustangs, worth about \$10. each. They all belonged to a large Frenchman, as uncivil as they make them, who pretended to know the country over which I was about to travel. He had more pretension to understand cooking, as he had once upon a time served as a scullion on a steamer on the Rhone. This quality had advantages for me over all his other merits, and I concluded to travel with him.

Well provisioned, well armed, because the country was not yet entirely safe, we departed on a beautiful morning for the San Fernando Mission at the foot of the first two ranges of the Sierra Madre Mountains. We made our first stop at one o'clock in the afternoon. Settling down in the shade of some large trees on the bank of a creek, we decided to refresh ourselves, letting the warmest hours of the day pass. Our cook-guide distinguished himself. This, moreover, was the only time when he did the job satisfactorily during the entire three weeks of his employment.

While we were at lunch many Californians passed near our camp and I invited them all to have a drink of wine, whisky or black coffee. M. de B. objected, "If you follow this course, our provisions will quickly disappear and we have a long way to travel without a chance to replenish them. Take it from me, let these 'Greasers' pass by." . . . I had committed so great a blunder that those who had already refreshed themselves soon published the news around the country and inhabitants on inhabitants hurried to look our camp over, in the hope of an invitation. I stiffened up in my ideas of hospitality. But soon there arrived two Californians, well mounted, and having such an exceptionally decent appearance that I invited them to join us. They were known to M. de B. and to our cook.

"This one," said B., "is Francisco Vasquez, the brother of Tiburcio, and the larger man is their brother-in-law. They both live at Soledad, where I was two or three years ago, and I always heard them well spoken of."

The road through San Fernando Pass crossed the creek, but there was naturally no trace of a bridge. Although we got out to walk, our poor horses would never have been able to pull us to the other bank of the creek if Don Francisco, or Chico as he was called, and his brother-in-law, both on horseback, had not yoked themselves with their riatas and dragged us out of the mud. We parted good friends. "I declare," said B., "I am pleased with this meeting, after the invitation you gave to these jolly fellows. It will probably be useful to us and serve as a recommendation in our behalf to Tiburcio Vas-

quez, who, with his band, for a month past has held for ransom the entire country through which we are going.¹ He has already stopped many people in the Tehachapi and on the side of Walker's Pass. One speaks no longer of murders. The people attacked let themselves be robbed, for if Tiburcio encounters any resistance, it costs him nothing to kill them all. The proof of this is what this band of brigands did near Hollister in Monterey County. You know as well as I, that after having robbed a store on the roadside, he killed the clerk and then killed four others either in the hotel near by or on the street. This was murder without necessity, because the bandits did not encounter any resistance of any kind during the night. The Governor of the State offered \$5000 for the head of Tiburcio and other rewards for the arrest of his lieutenant, Chavez, and the members of his band. But the hunt for these brigands has not yet commenced in the south. Up to now they have been hunted only around Monterey and in the San Joaquin Valley. Actually they are on this side of the Sierras and seem to be specially engaged in exploiting the road from Cerro Gordo.² They have robbed some farms in this vicinity, and have held up the stages and stolen their horses. Also they are wonderfully well mounted. All the Californians who reside around here, his brother and his parents at Soledad and in San Francisquito Cañon, which we are to go through tomorrow, are impressed as spies to make known to Tiburcio whatever passes from the direction of Los Angeles, and to let him know of the passage of anyone who is going from there to the mountains. For example, I am persuaded that he was advised of our arrival by some emissary, but probably our kindness toward Chico and his brother-in-law served us as a pass. Moreover, I have no great fear of Tiburcio personally. I know him well; . . . he played me a good turn some two years ago. He owed me several hundred dollars, and one day when I was pressing him rather energetically for that sum he sent me a bill of exchange on London for 100 pounds sterling, and in my innocence I did not pay any attention to the fact that this bill of exchange was a 'second' (a duplicate) as I was informed by the banker in San Francisco of whom I inquired, 'the first of exchange' having been duly paid in London.

"Then up to this time Tiburcio and his band have not attacked anyone but Americans. It appears that he has some feeling of vengeance against them. The Vasquez family once, when it inhabited Monterey County, was despoiled of its property by some Yankee lawyers. Today it is reduced to some poor land and a hovel at Soledad. Tiburcio, who otherwise is a decent enough youth, has always been possessed of a bitter hatred against Americans in general. He no doubt remembers his fights with them at Monterey at 'fandangos,' the blows which he has received and the many days in prison to which he has been condemned.

"Attracted by the heavy rewards offered for the taking of these bandits, the Sheriffs of the counties of Santa Clara, Monterey, and above all the terrible Harry Morse of Alameda,³ the terror of Mexican desperadoes and horse

thieves, have already taken the trail. The Sheriff of San Joaquin County also, probably, and [William] Rowland, Sheriff of Los Angeles, with whom you are acquainted, will no doubt join in his pursuit. But be sure that they will not easily arrest these highway robbers. If they are hunted too hard, they will pass into Mexico through Sonora where the Americans cannot follow them.

"If Tiburcio Vasquez is taken, it will be by surprise in some ambush. He is young, personally well set up, and he likes the women. I will be astonished if sooner or later he does not let himself be taken by treason in some love trap, and he will then have nothing but the rope to await. He surely will richly deserve it."

At some miles beyond the Mission of San Fernando, we reached the foot of the San Fernando Pass. For a long distance, except for the cañon of Soledad, this is the only passage through this mountain chain, either of which we might equally well take to gain the Mojave Desert. Naturally we had to pay a toll for the right to traverse the neck of San Fernando where the road on the two slopes is so steep that not only did we have to walk but also to aid the horses in pushing the wagon up the acclivity. At nightfall we were in front of the station of "Lyons" or "Petroliopolis," so named in honor of some springs of oil which they pretend to have discovered in this vicinity, and which with the need of exaggeration so dear to Americans, they are already comparing in richness to the oil fields of Pennsylvania. They have summoned experts from the East, and the earth has been perforated a little everywhere; but I could not see that the time had been reached when they could recover enough oil to supply the factory or refinery which a company has built, long before, moreover, they were assured of sufficient fluid to operate. Since then, but particularly recently, there has been a fever of excitement in the regions of San Fernando concerning new discoveries of oil. Numbers of wells are being drilled to the depths of seven hundred to nine hundred feet in the hope of touching the reservoir of oil which should exist according to the experts. Numbers of companies have been organized to exploit these wells; buildings for refining are under construction around Petroliopolis and also in the chain of mountains running to the northwest to San Buenaventura, where for many years there have been encountered numerous seepages of oil of a quality much inferior to that which Pennsylvania furnishes. It remains to be seen whether the output of these wells will ever be considerable enough to supply this new industry on the Pacific Coast. . . . I venture to doubt, from what I have seen of the exploitation at Petroliopolis, and considering the expense of pumping and then refining the oil and the high price of transporting oil to San Francisco, whether it will be possible to bring California oil to San Francisco at a price as low as that at which they sell the oils from the East.⁴

The next day at an early hour we were under way. We had thirty-five miles to make from Petroliopolis to reach Elizabeth Lake, going through San Francisquito canyon, a passage which of itself should take seven or eight hours.

Up to the beginning of this canyon is a charming drive of ten leagues across a beautiful valley partly cultivated and covered with flocks, a valley which gradually contracts and finally ends in a ravine at the bottom of which runs a brook which the road crosses in twenty places. This ravine is very narrow and winding. Frequently the mountains are so close together that there is just room for the road to get through. Then one enters into a large basin where some fields of barley and of corn surround the small house of a Californian. Everywhere are trees: sycamores, magnificent oaks and bay trees. It is one of the prettiest and most delightful countrysides which I have encountered in California. We chose a shady retreat, near which was a brook of perfectly clear water, as a place in which to eat and to let our horses blow for an hour or two, giving them full liberty to hunt pasture in the valley.

Toward evening, near the top of a mountain up which I was clambering on foot in the hope of shooting some quail, I heard myself called. I went back to the wagon which was standing in the road.

"We are surely up against it," cried B. "One of our horses is sick and refuses to go on. See, he trembles like a leaf."

Our guide-cook demanded that we stop there for the night, pretending that to push on would undoubtedly kill his horse.

"If he is killed it won't be a great loss in any event, and we are going to make Elizabeth Lake this evening in spite of everything. Let us see if we cannot make the summit which we have almost reached," said I.

By means of much cursing and energetic blows on the hide of the mustang, we arrived. At our feet to the northwest extended Elizabeth Lake, which they dignified by the appellation of a lake, and beyond, the desert as far as the eye could reach. It was almost night when with much disorder we made a point about one hundred metres from Elizabeth Lake near a cabin of boards belonging to a Canadian, large enough to contain one bed. The principal occupation of this good man consisted of selling whiskey. His customers must have been singularly rare, because his tavern was off the road, and I think that the Canadian was his own main customer. At least he was reasonably affected when we rapped at his door.

"You have a sick horse," said he, aiding us to unharness. "He is stiff . . . It is surely the torticollis."

"Maybe you can cure him," I replied. . . .

He returned to his cabin and soon came out with a hen's egg and his powder horn. . . . He removed about half of the egg, mixed it with gunpowder and forced the decoction his arm's length into the horse's throat.

"There, now," continued he, "if we had a warm stable it would be better, but I can't get him into my cabin. He should have two blankets over him and should pass the night nearby. There is no wind but there will be a white frost tomorrow morning. If the horse isn't dead tomorrow, you can surely hitch him up and continue your trip."

If he had no stable for our mustangs he had nothing better for us. We lit a good fire in the shelter of the Canadian's cabin, and our cook prepared a supper with black coffee and cognac, of which our citizen of Little France drank deeply. Cross as a red ass at the time of our arrival, he became gay and jovial, satisfied to talk his French jargon which many times we had difficulty in following, and with him, as with a number of his compatriots, I should have preferred to talk English. He wanted us to share his storeroom, to see his bed, but the cook was the only one with nerve enough to dare the effluvium of that interior. And we, lying in our blankets on the sandy ground, soon departed for the realm of dreams. At daybreak our fire was nearly out. The cold bit us so briskly that we quickly got up.

While our cook was preparing breakfast the Canadian went to look for the horse which had gone down to a stream of water about a hundred meters from our camp. The stiff neck of the day before was nearly gone; he made no objection to taking his place in the wagon, but we thought that his cure was a little too speedy to justify us in adventuring into the desert with our convalescent without fear of a recurrence. The Canadian had a horse, and I made him the proposition to lend him to us to continue our trip, while we would leave him ours and he could perhaps again claim his intelligent care. A few dollars to boot made him accept the proposition with eagerness.

Toward noon, after having as much as possible, to avoid the sand, followed the foot of the hills which come to an end at the entrance to Tehachapi Pass, leading to the San Joaquin Valley, we were at Willow Springs, twenty-two miles from our halt of the preceding night. This was the first good drinking water which we met. We stopped there, for the next stream was eighteen miles from there and we were not at all sure that it was not dry. These eighteen miles to the fork of the roads where the Tehachapi road comes down into the Mojave Desert formed the most abominable part of the road which we had yet traveled. The country is a great moving bank of sand. The wheels of our wagon sank in deep, and our horses could do no more, so we had to walk in the hot sun.

The plain is covered with cactus and wild palm trees⁵ flourishing in this desolate place. Bunch grass grows over the sand and is the only nourishment of large herds of cattle which at first sight one is greatly astonished to encounter living in the desert. Every now and then, a band of antelope appears running under the palm trees and stops, curious to see their solitude troubled by men. I vainly tried to shoot some of these graceful beasts, but they always fled at impossible distances.

"As long as you can't get an antelope, sir," said the cook, "I don't think you would lose anything by shooting a young steer."

"I agree; but I don't want to take anything which doesn't belong to me."

"Oh, don't stand on ceremony, sir, the beast you will shoot in all probability no longer has an owner. The rodeo has not been held and the young animal hasn't been branded. After all, it is only a young beef and, look, there is a fine one behind that cactus."

To be sure I allowed myself to be tempted. One shot sufficed. I told myself that if I met one of the owners, I would offer him the value of the animal. Our Lyonnais cook soon went to work cutting up my game. He took only the choicest parts, leaving a large part for the ravens, vultures or bands of coyotes which swarmed in the desert.

Night came and the cold became very sharp as we still looked for the happy brook where we expected to camp, but everything looked alike in the desert of sand and stunted bushes. At length, about nine o'clock we perceived a fire ahead of us.

"We will have neighbors at our camp," said the cook. "Let us hope that they are Christians."

They turned out to be Mexicans, vendors of oranges and provisions, returning from Lone Pine to Los Angeles. They very politely offered us a place at their fire. Arriving before dark, they had been able to get a fine supply of stuff to burn, which permitted them to keep up the fire all night. It is true that at the first free moment I sent the cook to cut brush along the creek, which he did with very little enthusiasm. A red-hot fire, well kept up, is a great comfort, for in this region, although the temperature is suffocating in the day time, it becomes glacial after sunset when the wind comes up. But also the air is absolutely dry and there is no dew in the morning. Humidity is entirely lacking, which makes nights passed under the beautiful stars, if not comfortable, at least without danger of colds or other illnesses. The main discomfort is in the wind and the clouds of dust which it raises.

Early the next morning we again took up our journey, desiring to reach a station known as "Coyote Hole" at the outlet of Walker Pass. Before us the desert, cut off by a circle of high mountains, extended to the horizon on the southeast. At the center of the circle of dry and rugged mountains, and at their immediate base, is situated the "Desert Lake," an ancient dry lake twenty miles in circumference.⁶ The entire surface glistened in the sun, because it is composed of a crust of soda and borate of lime, which I promised myself to examine on our return.

We had to cross this mountain chain to reach a higher plateau and we entangled ourselves in Red Rock Cañon,⁷ a cañon with a rocky floor, encased between two walls of rock, or rather of limestone rock, sometimes brick red and sometimes bright yellow. A little stream ran down the cañon. I tasted the water, which was not potable, having run a long distance through alkali, as was easy to recognize because the banks of the stream were covered with a saline layer.

Our horses showed fatigue. It was between one and two hours after noon and we did not have half of our trip behind us. We pressed on further. At some miles' distance in the upper part of the cañon, we saw a board cabin about the size of the one owned by our Canadian friend at Elizabeth Lake, leaning over on a bank of sand undermined by water and with its back against the hill.

"Good," thought we; "the wild man who planted his tent in this desolate country ought at least to have placed it near a spring."

The wild man in question was a young German, a very civilized and friendly boy. He put his cabin at our disposal and showed us the spring which we sought, around which grew some green things. It was a long time since our horses had had such a piece of good luck.

"A little lard and some potatoes is all I have to offer you, except whiskey," said Mr. Charles Seibert. "I am short and was counting on going to Tehachapi tomorrow to replenish my stock of provisions."

"In that case," I replied, "we are better prepared, especially in fresh meat, and we can prepare a good meal, in which it would be a pleasure to have you join us."

With some ends of planks and empty boxes a table was soon prepared and our cook proceeded to display his talents.

"What singular idea caused you to settle in this cañon?" I asked Seibert. "It seems to have very little travel, for during the past three days we have met only a few travelers on this road."

"You are perfectly right, and up to this time I haven't made my expenses. I located here because the mines in the Panamints⁸ had been discovered and I hoped that they would soon attract many people. I have here the only good water for twenty miles around; and to get to the Panamints there is but little beside the route through Red Rock Cañon, except across the bottom of Desert Lake, but the trail is very bad, so a horse can barely get over it; and in all the higher region around Pilot Peak there is no water and therefore no dwelling. In the meantime, if my business here doesn't pick up in the next two months, I think I shall go to the Panamints myself. I will take my cabin there and establish a saloon, which is the thing which always pays best in a new mining camp."

"Have you heard anything about Vasquez in this country?" inquired B. "They claim that he is around Tehachapi."

"Vasquez! He was here for some days with two other Californians. He demanded whiskey of me and something to eat. I gave him the same as I offered to you. When I found out whom I was dealing with I thought that I was out for my provisions, but before going, Vasquez paid me for himself and his men. He seemed to have come from beyond the 'Bocon Ranch,' which is on the road from Soledad, and he departed by way of Red Rock Cañon."

I told Seibert that we had been counting on reaching Coyote Hole that evening.

"But my horses can't do any more," cried the cook.

"You had better stay here tonight," offered Seibert. "To reach Coyote Hole, you have about twenty miles, of which six are in the cañon, very bad at this particular time, because the rains have washed out the sand from the road and have made it very difficult for horses. This will take four hours and you won't

be out of the cañon before seven, and you can't think of camping between here and Coyote Hole, for the terrain is as dry as a board."

We agreed to his suggestions. That evening late, a Mexican, or Spaniard as he pretended to be, arrived. He was returning from the Panamints on horseback and talked with us about the richness of some of the mines already discovered in these regions. He showed us some fine looking specimens of minerals. On our telling him that we were going very near to the Panamints, he said, "I cannot advise you to risk yourselves in these mountains at this time. There is still plenty of snow and there is absolutely no shelter. In two months from now the trip will be all right. Actually we miners live in these high places like marmots. You can't work, the cold is so intense, and the only shelter we have is holes which we have dug in the mountain. I reside in Los Angeles where I am going now. On your return come and see me. My partner has carried in a chest of mineral specimens from different mines which we have taken up around the Panamints, and truly there are fine indications in this new district."

I later had occasion to meet the aforesaid Mexican. He sent me specimens of nickel from a mine in Wild Rose Cañon,⁹ near the Panamints. It is the only mine of that metal in California with which I am acquainted. I do not know whether it has ever been worked, even though the Mexican gave me an interest in the claim.

At some distance above the habitation of our friend Seibert, the two limestone walls enclose the ravine very narrowly. They present a very singular configuration. At one time greatly extended, without doubt, the rock has been undermined by the water which covered the plateau above, and a passage has been carved out in this deep cañon. For two miles the walls are shaped exactly like Gothic towers. Here there is a turret surrounded by indented towers, while a little farther along it is shaped like the body of a chateau or a fortress. Then you have the reproduction of a cathedral of the good old times, with its embellishments of architecture, the whole as though it was carved or chiseled out of the limestone rock, sometimes yellow, sometimes red, with a very lovely effect. The resemblance was now and then so strange, that I stopped to examine minutely this work of nature and to find again the magnificent fancies which the Middle Ages have bequeathed to us.

Passing out of the cañon we came again into the desert—an immense plain, which from the plateau of the Tehachapi Mountains extends in a gentle declivity to die in the chain of the Slate Range. On the horizon, the ravine which forms Walker's Pass was at our right, with two enormous rocks, planted solitarily on the slope of the hill; on our left, Pilot Peak, and in the center the high summits of the Panamint district profile their crests at some nine or ten thousand feet above sea level.

About noon we were in front of the two rocks a mile from Coyote Hole. In these two pyramids of granite we perceived some hollows resembling caves.

"See there the retreats which have served Tiburcio Vasquez and his band," said M. de B. to me.

He did not realize how well he had guessed. A moment later we descended into the ravine of the width of about twenty meters (sixty feet), which is called "Coyote Hole" or the hole of the coyotes and where the stage traveling through Walker's Pass changes horses. In the bottom of this little valley appeared a wooden building, and a little further on, the stage stables. Billy Raymond, a large American of rather good figure, escorted us into the station. In the middle of the barroom, which is always the main room in this kind of hostelry, on a camp cot was lying a man of about fifty years.

"What is the meaning of this?" I enquired of Raymond.

"How is that, you don't know? We were surprised yesterday by Vasquez and his bandits. The man whom you see received a bullet which passed through the upper part of his thigh. But it was his own fault."

"My fault, my fault," muttered the wounded man. "It is not kind to say that. If the boys who were here yesterday had made some resistance we would have wiped out Vasquez and his companions. In any event he would not have come down to the station. But everyone here seemed to have lost his head."

"Oh! as for that, you lost yours before you saw Vasquez," replied Billy. "If you hadn't been too full of whiskey, you wouldn't have been so much of a boaster, no doubt. You would have lain down near us on the hill and Vasquez would have left you quiet."

"See," exclaimed Raymond, "how they have riddled my house. You will find more than twenty bullet holes through the roof and sides of the hut."

"But how did all this occur?" we inquired.

"Yesterday afternoon," the station master replied, "a little before the arrival of the stage from Lone Pine, which changes horses here, I had gone to the other side of the cañon, up there about a hundred steps, to see if my cattle had strayed too far, when I saw a horseman coming upon me at full speed, followed at a quarter of a mile by two others similarly mounted. He stopped in front of me, revolver in hand, and ordered me to throw up my hands. I wasn't armed and I obeyed. His two companions came up and made me lie down with my face to the ground. There were at the station, besides my wife, the stable attendant and several men, among whom was the old man who has been wounded. Vasquez and his bandits, rifles in hand, ordered all the individuals in the house or around it, to come out and to come to the side where I was. Although they were armed, they all obeyed and were made to lie, like me, with their faces to the ground. My wife did not budge, but this simpleton came out and started to gesticulate. Vasquez ordered him to come up on the plateau. He refused and went back into the house. It was then that they commenced the fusillade. The simpleton came out somewhat cooled off, when one of the bandits sent a bullet into him. As for Vasquez, he left his companions to watch us and went down to the station.

"I had prepared a sack of \$1,300, which I intended to send to Bakersfield by the stage. Vasquez must have been informed of this because he immediately demanded that my wife deliver the money. Mrs. Raymond tried to give him about \$50 which was in the chest in the bar room.

"No, no," said Vasquez, at the same time putting his hand on this small sum, 'I want the sack which Raymond intended to ship.'

"And she was forced to deliver it. He took also my wife's watch and my own, which were in the closet at the side of the bar room. Then, demanding a bottle of whiskey, he went quietly to rejoin us above.

"Now," said he to me, 'you and your men remain until we have disappeared. If you budge, I won't spare you.'

"And the bandits spurred off in the direction of the mountains. Two hours later the stage for Walker's Pass arrived. I hope that Vasquez has not attacked it. He made a good enough harvest at my place."

"But where do you suppose he keeps himself with his band?"

"It is difficult to tell precisely," replied Raymond, "He ought to be pursued vigorously on the other side of the Sierra, and I rather think that he is on that side. In any event, he surely spent several days in the rocks near which you just passed, because I went there this morning and found a quantity of empty sardine cans, crackers and about a quarter of a sack of flour."

"What irritates me the most," continued Billy, "is to have lost \$1,300 by my own negligence. I have had that money around me for the last eight days and I should have sent it to Bakersfield. In a country like this is it imprudent to keep funds at home. There are too many 'prospectors'."¹⁰

We missed this brawl by a day and we congratulated ourselves because, well-armed though we were, we would have found it a little hard to lie on our stomachs along side of Raymond and his men.

Tiburcio Vasquez continued to hold the country and to commit other crimes, including one or two murders. He pursued even one of my friends, a superintendent of mines in Cerro Gordo, who was returning to his post with a well-lined pocket. But the engineer, after having been shot at several times, being better mounted than Vasquez, escaped.

Finally, vigorously pursued, he was obliged to go into Arizona and from there, it is said, into Mexico. His companions followed him, but six months later they all returned to Southern California. They pillaged some farms in the suburbs of Los Angeles itself. The pursuit of the bandits recommenced. One day the Sheriff of Los Angeles was informed that Vasquez was expected to come to the home of a Greek, named Georges, who lived in a hut in San Francisco Cañon, surrounded by some bits of fields. An amorous rendezvous with the daughter of the small farmer was, it appeared, under a rock. Rowland, the Sheriff, with his men surrounded Vasquez in the hut and the bandit was made prisoner without having been able to start any resistance. Sent to Monterey, then to San Jose, fifty miles from San Francisco, Vasquez

passed in judgment. In spite of the efforts of the Californian [the indigenous] population, whether by menaces or by corruption, Tiburcio was condemned to death and hanged a short time after.

His lieutenant, Chavez, and the rest of his band escaped. They continued their exploits for some time, but, energetically pursued, they were obliged to quit California again. A very large reward was promised to those who should deliver them dead or alive. This offer didn't fall on deaf ears. Some adventurers from Arizona busied themselves to gain this reward. A few months afterward it was learned that Chavez had been shot. The man who killed him cut off his head, which he carried to San Francisco. But the speculation did not succeed. So far as I know, no one has collected the reward offered. He took this head about with him for some time. If he had exhibited it, without doubt he would have collected some money.

Leaving Coyote Hole, we came to camp at Indian Wells, a station kept by a Frenchman at the junction of the road to Cerro Gordo and that to the Slate Range and Panamint to the Northeast. We intended to reach the Borax Lake¹¹ the following evening, the distance to which had been represented to us as not being in excess of thirty-five miles, but our horses could not be pushed on this road which crossed the worst part of the desert. And then it was necessary to pass the first, lesser ranges of mountains of the Slate Range in the midst of fallen rocks.

Night surprised us, when we had not done over two-thirds of our trip, in a sandy cañon nowhere affording a drop of water. Fortunately we had taken a little cask containing about thirty liters before quitting Indian Wells, and our horses, during the day, had been able to drink at some wells of brackish water. Some brush¹² with very strong roots, tough and containing oil or rosin, made us a good fire. Our dinner occupied us an hour or two; and then, folded in our blankets, we awaited the return of the sun.

On leaving the cañon we perceived the Borax Lake, which covers a space fifteen to twenty miles in length by five or six miles wide and occupies all of the bottom of a valley surrounded by high mountains, bare and rocky. Nowhere was there a pool of water or a sign of vegetation. The entire surface resembled a plain covered with snow. In some places this white cover glistened in the sun with a bluish reflection. When the rains come, the water from the mountains filters under the crust of soda. We were constrained to regard ourselves as lucky not to have continued our journey during the preceding night in these parts, because we had to exercise great care to avoid many boggy places. The road, to reach the bottom of the little valley where the plant of the Searles Brothers is, traverses the entire lake.¹³

When I speak of plant, I anticipate a little, because at this time my friends the Searles had nothing on this sort of marsh but a little cabin of boards, in which they lodged in very tight quarters, while a half dozen Chinese, whom



DENNIS SEARLES AND JOHN WEMPLE SEARLES, HIS BROTHER

they employed, sheltered themselves under a sort of construction of earth [adobe] of the height of four feet above the ground.

The Messrs. Searles¹⁴ were the first to discover this Borax Lake. After having explored it in all ways, they made choice of an area of about seven hundred acres in the part where they found the richest deposits of borate of soda. But, to reach these deposits, they had to commence by building a road in the moving soil of the lake, a long and costly job.

After them many other people took up claims on the lake and even along the shores. A company formed at Los Angeles started to work this borate of soda, but soon abandoned their project. And today [1882], as in 1874, the Searles brothers alone remain to work the lake.¹⁴ Moreover, in the last few years, the craze for the manufacture of borax in California has greatly diminished. In 1873 the article sold for about \$500 a ton; since then the price has dropped to \$180. There existed in the case of borax a condition which has applied to many other products in this region, over-production.

At the time of the first working of these borates of soda and borates of lime, people engaged in this business pretended, and the newspapers naturally repeated in emulation of one another, that California and Nevada could produce 1,000 to 1,500 tons of borax a month, in the same way as the mining experts in the Comstock mines gave assurance that the product of these silver mines would be three or four times greater than it ever was in reality. But the consumption of borax in the entire world never exceeded 8,000 to 10,000 tons a year. The English, who control the borax market, took fright at the announcement of a production so enormous, and lowered the selling price of this article two-thirds, seeing well that although their profits were heavily reduced they would in this manner prevent excessive working of the deposits on the Pacific Coast. Their foresight has been fully justified, because today, in spite of some recovery in value, California and Nevada do not produce over 100 tons of borax a month.

The Searles brothers and their partner, a giant from the State of Maine, received us in a very friendly manner.

For example, their facilities did not permit them to offer us comforts, even to a modest bed. It was necessary for us to arrange ourselves for the night with five persons in a miserable little room which served as a dining room and pantry. In the morning we were obliged to make our toilet with some buckets of water which the giant from Maine had with great effort brought from a creek seven or eight miles away in the mountains.

With his spade on his shoulder, loaded with empty sacks and fitted out with great boots, Dennis Searles and his brother accompanied me over the borax deposit which I promised myself to examine carefully.

All this part of the lake which had been more or less prospected was covered with a layer of soda mixed with sand which crunched under foot. Underneath, the foot sank into a thickness of four or five inches of borate of soda in pow-

dered form like powdered sugar of semi-whiteness. Under the borate of soda extended a layer of sulphate of soda and of magnesia in bulk which only the pick could detach. At the end of the roadway, constructed with faggots and some rocks and reaching to the center of the lake, the Chinamen, sunk in muddy water, were drawing out great blocks, of which the Searles brothers later came to appreciate the lack of value because of the cost of getting them out and transporting them to the Coast. When this thickness of borate of soda was taken off, it would reform after a few years because the water existing in the bottom of the lake was so charged with boracic acid that the evaporation of this acid across the sulphate of soda brought about by assimilation the creation of borate of soda. I collected a number of specimens of this last mentioned product which I later analyzed. I obtained 40 to 45% of commercial borax, which is less than the return from the borate of soda in "Teals Marsh" in the State of Nevada, which gave me an average of 55 to 60%. It is true that these deposits in Teals Marsh have been quickly exhausted by a company from Chicago which undertook to refine these fine products.

In no part of this lake of the Slate Range did I encounter any borate of lime, so abundant in the deposits of Columbus in the State of Nevada, where it is moreover found in company with borate of soda. This borate of lime, in the form of flat and friable rocks, but more often rolled with different sulphates and mixed with sand in the form of potatoes or blocks, is called here "cotton bolls" and must generally be dug at two or three feet under ground, and although it contains 40 to 45% of boracic acid it cannot be worked in California to the same advantage as borate of soda. The costs of manufacture are very high and the work is longer and more careful and requires the adjunction of bicarbonate of soda, always very high priced here. It is true that the percentage of boracic acid is also larger and that the commercial borax resulting from the borates of lime, if it is not better, at least presents itself in the form of more beautiful crystals. Outside of the claims belonging to the Searles brothers, there are certainly other deposits of a very considerable richness containing 25 to 30% of borax which would be fine in a country where the work and the cost of establishing a factory were somewhat reasonable and where fuel was not so dear and it did not cost some \$50 a ton to transport these products to San Francisco.

In the evening, sitting in front of a good fire in the cabin of the Searles brothers, we talked about one thing and another, when I asked if the country possessed any game.

"Absolutely no," replied Dennis. "This country is desert, the mountains have no trees and the plains have no verdure. All that it is possible to shoot, and they are now very rare, is the mountain sheep. Some years ago when we were prospecting in this region we would shoot one now and then, but we have not even seen any for a long time."

"And the grizzly bear?" I inquired.

"The bear? What would he live on here? He would not venture here. He prefers to remain in the forests of the Sierra. There, there are trees, ranches and cattle, and moreover we are not sorry not to have him for a neighbor."

"You appear to be well acquainted with him," I said.

"Oh, only because I have hunted him often," replied Dennis. "But ask my brother John if meeting him is an agreeable adventure."

"I declare," said John, "I count on keeping away from them henceforth as from the plague. I never had a chance in my last fray with Master Grizzly. I am not like the gambler setting his heart on a bad hand."

"Tell us then what happened to you," we inquired of John Searles.

"Well, although my mishap is not one of which I would willingly brag, I will put my pride as a great hunter under the bushel, and here is the story. We, my partner, Dennis and myself, were on a hunting trip of some days in the mountains near Soledad where we had some mines and a quartz mill. It was about a year and a half ago and the country abounded with deer. We were camping out, when, one morning after fresh snow had fallen, I noticed a short distance from our camp many deer tracks. Counting on shooting one or two before my companions were ready for breakfast, I went out alone on horseback by a poor trail leading into a ravine below us. My horse slipped a good deal, so I tied him to a tree and continued with my rifle under my arm. I had scarcely gone fifty steps, when in going around a rock alongside of the trail I found myself face to face with the most splendid grizzly which I have ever seen in my life. He had perhaps heard or seen me before I became aware of his presence. Standing on his hind feet, he almost touched me before I could get my rifle to my shoulder. There was no chance to draw back. With the butt of my rifle set against my waist, I fired my shot. My shot ought to have hit him too low in the stomach but I was not able to tell anything about this. My shot had scarcely been fired when my rifle leapt from my hands, broken clean to the lock, and I received at the same time a slap in the face such as is given to few men to receive. The same moment I felt the paw of the bear over all of my body. His claws entered my flesh and my lower jaw hung on my neck; then came a dreadful blow on my left shoulder and a laceration of the flesh on the upper part of my body. I was not bitten, but was torn by his claws.

"I fell without losing consciousness in spite of the terrible pain which I suffered. I kept perfectly quiet. Master Grizzly rubbed me a little with his snout. I thought he was about to eat me although I expect that I would have been rather tough. According to appearances, he didn't consider me his affair, because he didn't touch me with his teeth, but he handled me roughly once or twice with his enormous paws. Satisfied, without doubt, with the job he had done, he turned and walked about twenty paces away. Probably some thought came to him, because he came back to me and gave me some more rough treatment.

"In spite of the terrible suffering which I experienced, I did not utter a single groan and the bear decided to depart. When I judged that he was at some considerable distance, I attempted to get up. My shoulder and my left arm were broken and I was blinded with blood, but my legs had not been much injured, and, although I was sore all over my body, I got on my feet and went to find my horse. He was a spirited animal and had already become aware of the presence of the bear. In the condition in which I was, with a part of my body paralyzed, I had plenty of trouble in mounting my horse.

"Finally I reached our camp. My friends took me to Soledad and from there to the hospital at Los Angeles. The best doctors in the city were called. I was in such a pitiful condition that they considered me as almost lost. They set my arm and shoulder and put the flesh on my chest in place, but none of them were able to put my face and jaw in order. A dentist finally undertook this part of putting me in order. I was tolerably near martyized and remained four months in the hospital.

"But after all, I do not carry very many marks of the accident, except that my mouth is athwart, which is somewhat hidden by my beard, which I have let grow entirely, and you see that my left shoulder is lower than the right, which gives me the somewhat false appearance of being a hunchback. This doesn't bother me much. My wife seems to like me better than before.

"Of the fourteen known victims of this same bear, I am the only one who escaped. This seems to astonish you, but you might have read in the newspapers the entire odyssey of this grizzly for the last two or three years during which his tracks have been recognized. He lacks two claws from his left hind foot so that his tracks are recognizable and they were found at the place where I was stricken down.

"This bear is the most enormous specimen of his kind that I have ever seen. Last year he killed six men in the mountains of Santa Cruz leading down toward San Bernardino. No one has yet had a chance to bring him down. He ought to have his carcass filled with lead. The Government has offered a reward to the man who kills him. This is not a job which I am going to undertake, you may be sure."¹⁵

After some days passed in exploring the borax lake of the "Slate Range" and the surrounding country, where one encounters many indications of silver mines, not wanting to hazard ourselves in the new Panamint District, because the last snows of winter would render our search useless, we took leave of our friends the Searles, whose hospitality was most grateful to us, and taking again the same long and fatiguing route which we had followed to get to this country, we arrived at Los Angeles in a week.

NOTES

1. For accounts of the exploits of Tiburcio Vasquez, see Chalfant, W. A., *Outposts of Civilization*, Boston [1928], pp. 153-56; *idem*, *The Story of Inyo*, 1922, pp. 239-44; *Crimes and Career of Tiburcio Vasquez*, Hollister: Evening Free Lance, 1927; and New-

mark, Harris, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913*, Boston and N.Y., 1930, pp. 453-58.

2. Cerro Gordo [large thick hill] was a famous mining camp in Inyo County, in the mountains northeast of Owens Lake. It was apparently discovered by one Pablo Flores and two companions in 1865. On April 5, 1866, the Lone Pine Mining District, including the new camp, was organized with J. J. Moore as its Recorder. On January 1, 1870, 999 locations had been filed for record in the district. Transportation of the bullion was a problem, and, after much trouble, the mine owners organized the Cerro Gordo Freighting Company. They associated Remi Nadeau, a teamster, with them; he took active charge and made a fortune from the service. The line was equipped with huge wagons, each hauled by sixteen to twenty animals. Fifty-six of these outfits were on the road, and still could not move the bullion to tidewater half as fast as it rolled from the furnaces. Some relief was given by the building of the small steamer *Bessie Brady*, which plied between Swansea, at the northeast corner of Owens Lake, Ferguson's Landing at the northwest corner, and Cartago, at the southwest corner. This took eight days out of the round trips of the teams, but it still was not fast enough and required the piling up of bullion at various points awaiting transportation. A contemporary estimate of the bullion output was: 1869—1,000 tons; 1870—1,500 tons; 1871—2,500 tons; 1872—4,000 tons; 1873—5,000 tons; 1874—6,000 tons. "Cerro Gordo stands undisputedly as the Inyo County camp of greatest production, notwithstanding that no one knows, within some millions, what the total was. About \$13,000,000 was the estimate at the close of its first period of life. The boom spirit of mining writers some twenty years ago raised the statement to \$28,000,000, apparently just for the sound of it. The best available information is that the actual gross production of the camp's best days was approximately \$17,000,000." Chalfant, *Story of Inyo*, pp. 248-56. (Quoted by permission.)

3. Henry N. Morse, who was born in New York on February 22, 1835, and came to California in 1849 on the ship *Panama*, became Sheriff of Alameda County in 1863, which office he held for fourteen years. Charles Howard Shinn, in his *Graphic Description of Pacific Coast Outlaws: Thrilling Exploits of Their Arch-Enemy Sheriff Harry N. Morse*, states that Morse was "a relentless terror to the criminal community." Narciso Bojorques, Noratto Ponce, Joe Newell, Tomaso Redundo (Procopio), Jesus Tejada, and Joaquin Oliveras were a few of the horse thieves, bandits and murderers captured by Sheriff Morse, and it was he who killed the notorious outlaw, Juan Soto, after a desperate encounter. Morse later operated a detective agency in San Francisco, and was responsible for the arrest and conviction of Charles E. Boles, alias "Black Bart."

4. "No further attempt was made at oil development till the close of the [Civil] war, when the San Fernando petroleum and mining district, thirty miles north of Los Angeles, was located with Christopher Leaming as recorder. . . . This district has produced a larger amount of oil than any other in the State, and is now [1887] yielding a thousand barrels daily. . . . In 1867 increased attention was paid to oil development, and samples of oil were sent to the Paris Exposition from the San Fernando district and from Santa Barbara County. . . . In 1869 a good well was sunk by Mr. Hughes in Pico Cañon, now the principal oil-producing cañon in the San Fernando district. . . . In 1873 a refinery was established by the Star Oil Company at Lyon's Station, and the Pico oil-production refined at the rate of twenty barrels daily." D. M. Berry, in *California of the South*, by Walter Lindley and J. P. Widney, New York, 1888, pp. 338-39. "The old refinery was situated less than a half-mile up Railroad Cañon from Newhall. In 1875 Mr. D. G. Scofield and several men from San Francisco organized the California Star Oil Works Company, which later became the Standard Oil Company of California. These men erected two small experimental refineries, one near Ventura, the other near Newhall. Each had a capacity of about 60 barrels a day." *Standard Oil Bulletin*, July, 1936, p. 7.

5. The Joshua Tree, *Yucca brevifolia*.

6. Probably Rosamond Lake.

7. Redrock Canyon is in the El Paso Mountains between Fremont Valley and Indian Wells Valley.

8. For the story of mining in the Panamint Mountains, see Chalfant, *The Story of*

Inyo, pp. 257-65, and Wilson, Neill C., *Silver Stampede—The Career of Death Valley's Hell-camp, Old Panamint, N.Y.*, The Macmillan Company, 1937.

9. Wild Rose Cañon is in the Panamint Mountains, on the west side.

10. Chalfant gives a slightly different version of this holdup, which he places in February instead of March: "... Vasquez . . . transferred his activities to the eastern slope of the Sierras for a time, rich mineral discoveries promising profitable looting. Vasquez and one companion, Chavez, announced their arrival at the lonely stage station at Coyote Holes, Kern County, February 25, 1874, by firing fifteen shots through the walls of the house. The six persons inside had no arms except a rifle without cartridges and an empty shotgun, and under orders filed out and were tied up. The stage came along and its passengers were robbed, and teamsters who arrived had the same experience, until before the bandits left they had a colony of fourteen much interested but helpless prisoners watching their proceedings." Chalfant, *Outposts of Civilization*, p. 155. (Quoted by permission.)

11. Searles Lake, lying between the Argus and Slate ranges, at an elevation of 1,623 feet, consists of a porous body of salt crystals, the interstices of which are filled with a free-flowing brine. The deposit is seventy feet deep, on an average, and extends over a surface area of about twelve square miles. In addition, the "lake" area includes a shallow fringe of flats. The town of Trona, now on the northeast shore, was named for the deposit of trona, or natural sesquicarbonate of soda, which occurs as a reef at this corner of the lake. Borax is taken from the lake in large quantities. The brine deposits are developed primarily for potash [potassium chloride], and sodium ash and sodium sulphate are also recovered.

12. *Larrea Tridentata*.

13. "In 1861, John W. Searles, a noted pioneer and hunter of early days, was prospecting in company with his brother Dennis, in the Slate Range, in the extreme northern edge of San Bernardino county. Their camp looked down on a wide marsh that gleamed in the hot sun like molten silver. It was supposed to be a vast bed of salt and carbonate of lime." This is an error for carbonate of soda, or trona. While using the carbonate of soda in working the ores, their engineer found that it contained borax. "About 1863, borax was discovered at Clear Lake . . . and a San Francisco company began exploiting it. About 1872 there came the news of the borax finds of F. M. Smith and others in Nevada, which made a furor. Soon afterward a sample of the Nevada borax was brought into California and Searles had a chance to examine it. He immediately packed an outfit, and with his brother Dennis, E. W. Skilling and J. D. Creigh, went to the marsh west of Slate Range. There the party preempted claims of 160 acres each . . . and in a short time the entire marsh was covered with claims. . . . During 1873 more than one million pounds of borax, worth nearly \$200,000, was taken from the marshes of San Bernardino county. Searles' Marsh, as it was known, was a basin-like depression, or dry lake, ten miles long and five miles wide, containing an almost unlimited quantity of the material. The Searles company erected an extensive plant with a capacity of 100 tons per month of refined borax . . ." For the transportation of the product "specially constructed wagons, carrying immense loads and drawn by twelve, eighteen, or twenty mules were used. Stations along the route were established by placing water in tanks at various points along the road and caching supplies of horse feed and provisions. From 1873 to 1881 the principal borax production of the state, and of the United States as well, was from the borax marshes of San Bernardino county." Ingersoll's *Century Annals of San Bernardino County, 1769 to 1904*, Los Angeles, 1904, p. 278.

Not realizing the value of the brine, the company organized by the Searles brothers, which was known as the San Bernardino Borax Mining Company, used only the borax crystals in the mud around the marshy fringes of the lake. In 1906, the company was taken over by the Pacific Coast Borax Co., but they soon ceased their operations at Searles Lake in favor of better deposits in the vicinity of Death Valley and in Nevada. About this time, C. E. Dolbear became interested in Searles Lake, and as a result of his activities a California Trona company was formed which took up claims covering practically all of the available area of the lake. No particular operating, however, was done until 1914, when the forerunners of the present American Potash and Chemical Corpora-

tion took over the California Trona interests. Development of the brine deposits, primarily for potash, dates practically from 1916 when, because of the acute shortage of potash salts in this country due to the war, both the American Trona Co. (predecessor of the American Potash and Chemical Corporation) and the combination of the Pacific Coast Borax Company and the Solvay Process Company built plants. The Solvay Process Company, having investigated the lake in 1910 as a possible source of soda, and having developed a plan for recovering potash, combined with the Pacific Coast Borax Company in 1916 under a twenty-year partnership agreement, and ground was broken for their plant at "Borosolvay" (almost half way down the west shore of the lake) in October, of that year. The plant, however, has not operated since 1921 and is now being dismantled. (See the Trona *Pot-Ash*, December 4, 1937.) The buildings of the American Potash and Chemical Corporation and the homes of its numerous employees comprise the small town of Trona at the northwest corner of the lake. Although operations were temporarily suspended in 1921, the company is again flourishing and produces approximately 450 tons per day of potassium chloride, about 250 tons per day of borax, and around 100 tons each of soda ash and sodium sulphate. Since 1925, another small plant, at Westend, a few miles below Borosolvay on the west shore, has been successfully recovering borax and soda ash.

14. John Wemple Searles was born at Tribes Hill, Montgomery County, New York, November 16, 1828, the son of George and Helen Wemple Searles. He spent his boyhood on his father's farm near Randolph, New York, and on leaving school worked at the blacksmiths' trade until 1849, when he left for California. After a trip around the Horn he joined his brother Dennis, who had preceded him, and they settled at Indian Creek in Shasta County, where they purchased 160 acres of land and two mining claims. After a few years they sold this property and went to Los Angeles, and from there to the Borax mines where, in April, 1874, they preempted claims of 160 acres each, which eventually made them wealthy men. John Searles married Miss Mary Covington, in Los Angeles on January 1, 1873, but she died the next year, after the birth of their son, and he never remarried. The son, Dennis, was born in Los Angeles on February 27, 1874, and spent his early childhood at the borax mines. He attended the Belmont school from 1886-91, and Stanford University from 1891-95, and later became superintendent of the Pacific Borax Company which had purchased the property before the death of his father. *Ingersoll's Century Annals of San Bernardino County*, p. 679. Dennis Searles died on November 25, 1916, survived by his widow, the former Caroline Ayers (now Mrs. William H. Smith), and their only child, who is now Mrs. Frank J. Baumgarten, of San Francisco.

15. In Ingersoll's *Century Annals of San Bernardino County*, (pp. 371-74) is a somewhat different and much more detailed account of Searles' thrilling encounter with the bear, taken from an article by John R. Spears in the New York *Sun*. Spears, when he visited Mr. Searles at the San Bernardino Borax Mining Company's works, was shown a two-ounce bottle containing twenty-one pieces of broken bones and teeth which Mr. Searles had lost in the adventure, and an old Spanish rifle which had in the stock and barrel a number of dents made by the bear's teeth. The bear, known as "Club-foot," had quite a destructive career and became the subject of many exciting tales, according to Arturo Bandini, in the *Californian Illustrated Magazine*, July, 1893, p. 314.

PRICE-FIXING IN SPANISH CALIFORNIA¹

By SANFORD A. MOSK

PRICE-FIXING by governmental authority is a phenomenon frequently encountered in economic history. Ancient, medieval, and modern times provide many illustrations of the practice, although the motives for price regulation and the methods employed, as well as the problems which have resulted, are by no means the same in all cases.

Record of an interesting attempt at price-fixing is found in the economic annals of Spanish California. In the Eighteenth Century, food and draft animals were scarce in California. The principal purchasers of food supplies were the presidios and transport vessels. Commodities supplied to soldiers in California presidios were charged to their wages, but the Spanish Government had an interest in keeping food prices low, since a soldier's pay was adjusted according to the cost of living.² Fixing maximum prices, therefore, was regarded as a legitimate and necessary function of the government. These prices were to be fair both to producers and consumers; in this respect they conformed to the medieval concept of "just price." The parallel, however, must not be carried too far. In medieval times the institution of "just price" formed an integral part of the economic structure. In California, price-fixing was viewed as a temporary expedient to protect the interests of consumers (and the royal treasury) until local production should be sufficient to keep prices low through competition.³

The first assize for Alta California was promulgated by Governor Neve on January 1, 1781.⁴ The prices specified at that time apparently represented modifications of an earlier list prepared for the Southern Department of Baja California by José de Gálvez.⁵ The complete schedule of 1781 is given below. It is not possible to give precise English equivalents for many of the terms which had local meaning, and therefore the original Spanish is inserted wherever the translation is doubtful. Of special significance were the following prices: range bull, 4 *pesos*; bull for slaughtering, 5 *pesos*; ox, trained to the yoke, 6 *pesos*; an *arroba* (approximately 25 lbs.) of tallow, 1 *peso* 4 *reales* or 2 *pesos*, according to grade; hen, 2½ *reales*; wheat, per *fanega* (approximately 2½ bushels), 2 *pesos*; corn, per *fanega*, 1 *peso* 4 *reales*; beans, per *fanega*, 3 *pesos*.

PROVISIONAL REGULATION OF PRICES OF PRODUCE AND SUPPLIES SOLD IN THE NEW SETTLEMENTS OF THE PROVINCE OF CALIFORNIAS

	<i>Pesos</i>	<i>Reales</i>
For a range bull, of more than 2 years	4	
For a bull for slaughtering, of 3 to 4 years	5	

For a range cow, or young bull	5	
For an ox broken to the yoke	6	
For a milch cow	6	
For a yearling calf	2	
For an <i>arroba</i> of jerked beef	1	
For an <i>arroba</i> of fresh cut meat		2½
For an <i>arroba</i> of pounded tallow (<i>sebo machacado</i>)	1	4
For an <i>arroba</i> of melted tallow (<i>sebo frito</i>)	2	
For an <i>arroba</i> of lard	3	6
For an <i>arroba</i> of beef fat	3	
For an <i>arroba</i> of tallow candles	3	
For an <i>arroba</i> of salted and cured pork	4	
For a sheep, of between 2 and 3 years	2	4
For an old sheep, i.e., of 2 years	2	
For a yearling sheep	1	2
For a lamb		6
For a wether with fleece (<i>de pelo añejo</i>)	1	2
For a yearling wether		6
For a suckling kid		2½
For a he-goat	1	
For a she-goat, or ewe		6
For a two-year old hog	3	4
For a three-year old hog	5	
For a suckling pig	1	2
For a hen		2½
For a chicken (<i>una polla de las que llaman roncás</i>)		1½
For three eggs		½
For a rooster		1½
For a young rooster		1
For a pair of live domesticated doves		3
For a pair of domesticated pigeons		1½
For a dozen quail		2
For a rabbit		½
For a hare		1
For an undressed cowhide		4
For a tanned cowhide	2	4
For an undressed buckskin		3
For a tanned buckskin	1	4
For a buckskin in white chamois finish (<i>en gamuza blanca</i>)	1	4
For a doeskin in chamois finish, or tanned (<i>vaqueta</i>)	1	
For a pound of domestic cheese		½
For a <i>fanega</i> of wheat	2	
For a <i>fanega</i> of corn	1	4
For a <i>fanega</i> of chick-peas	3	
For a <i>fanega</i> of beans	3	
For a <i>fanega</i> of lentils	3	
For a <i>fanega</i> of vetch	1	4
For a <i>fanega</i> of barley		6
For an <i>arroba</i> of common flour	1	2
For an <i>arroba</i> of fine flour	2	
For an ordinary horse, sound and broken in	9	

For a mare, or unbroken three-year old filly	4
For an unbroken three-year old colt	5
For an unbroken three-year old she-mule	16
For a she-mule broken to pack or saddle (<i>silla de dar y recibir</i>)	20
For a three-year old unbroken he-mule	14
For a he-mule broken to pack or saddle	18
For a special horse, she-mule, or he-mule, any price that may be arranged	—
For an ordinary burro	6
For a brood burro	7
For a lead burro, any price that may be arranged	—

No general revision of the assize was undertaken until 1788, when Governor Pedro Fages issued a new list. In the intervening years, protests against the established prices were numerous, most of the criticism coming from the missionaries.⁷ This is not surprising, since the missions were the chief suppliers of the products subject to price regulation. Furthermore, the incomes derived from selling these commodities enabled the missions to purchase equipment and other articles which they lacked.

One of the principal objections raised by the missionaries was that the price schedule was too inflexible—that the same prices were maintained regardless of the amounts produced. This practice bore heavily upon the missions in years of crop shortage.⁸ In answer to Governor Fages' charge that the missions had declined to sell corn to the presidios at the price fixed,⁹ Fr. Palóu, in March, 1786, stated that the Governor had absolutely refused to raise the price despite an extreme shortage of the grain.¹⁰ The justice of this long-standing mission complaint was finally recognized by Fages in May of the same year, when he ordered Lieutenant Sal to pay 2 *reales* more than the stated price for corn purchased from the missions of San Carlos and Santa Clara; this was done because of the scarcity then prevailing, which made it necessary for the sellers to give up grain destined for their own consumption.¹¹ This step was followed, in January, 1787, by an order raising the prices of corn, chick-peas, barley, chickens, and hens for the current year.¹²

A second criticism levied against the assize by the missionaries was that the prices were too low. According to Palóu, sailors in the transport service declared that if they were allowed to take grain from Alta California to sell in San Blas they could make a profit of 100%.¹³ It might be noted that this fact *alone* does not prove that the California price was too low, although Palóu cites it for that purpose. At a later date, it was alleged that the prices set for cattle and animal products did not yield enough to cover costs.¹⁴ In this case reference was made to the specific cost of raising livestock. But all mission revenues together had to cover, in addition to such operating costs, the expenses of purchasing clothing for the Indians, tools and implements, and other articles, in order to maintain and improve the mission institutions. The friars felt that the prices of the products they were selling were too low in proportion to the prices of the articles they had to purchase.¹⁵

The missionaries were also critical of the way in which the assize was administered, alleging that it was enforced rigorously on mission products but not on those supplied by others. Palóu, in his letter of March 27, 1786, asserts that the missions were forced to sell cattle at the established prices (4, 5, or 6 pesos), whereas the royal ranch at Monterey was allowed to sell a live animal for a sum equal to the prices of the various products which would be obtained by slaughtering the animal.¹⁶ This is the only specific instance of discrimination given in the friars' letters examined by the writer. Other statements of discrimination are general. It is not improbable that the missionaries exaggerated the amount of discrimination, for they resented competition from the royal ranches, presidios, and pueblos.¹⁷ Furthermore, there is evidence to show that the missionaries themselves did not always obey the assize. Governor Borica, in 1798, declared that royal ranches were necessary in California because there were not enough private ranches to supply local needs, and because the missions, before they were faced with competition from the royal ranches, had been able to charge prices in excess of those designated in the assize.¹⁸

Only one general revision of the assize of 1781, that of January 1, 1788,¹⁹ has been found by the writer. Prices of a large number of items, including bulls, cows, oxen, hogs, tallow, and beans, were lowered in conformity with increased production. A few things, such as chickens and barley, were raised in price. Wheat, corn, chick-peas, and pack animals remained at the same prices. This assize was still in effect in 1802, when Governor Arrillaga found it so satisfactory that he could recommend only a few minor changes.²⁰ In 1803, however, the Viceroy decided that prices in California should be varied according to the amounts produced, the number of inhabitants, and the volume of trade. In preparing the new price list which he was ordered to draw up, Arrillaga was instructed to take into account the factors just indicated and to consult with the commanders of the presidios.²¹ From this it appears that the price-fixing process was becoming much more flexible than it formerly had been.²²

No further references to price-fixing in Spanish California have been found by the writer. It is possible that, as early as the first decade of the Nineteenth Century, the growing volume of non-mission production and of external trade made price regulation unnecessary as well as difficult to enforce.

NOTES

1. The material used here was obtained in connection with a larger investigation, made possible by a Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

2. Governor Neve's ordinances for the government of the Californias, issued June 1, 1779, eliminated transportation and certain other charges formerly paid on purchases by California soldiers, and, at the same time, reduced their pay accordingly. See Neve's *Reglamento é instrucción . . .*, in Basilio José Arrillaga, *Recopilación de leyes . . . de los supremos poderes y otras autoridades de la república mexicana* (Mexico, 1838), pp. 121-75, at p. 123; also, letter of Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Governor Diego de Borica, Monterey, August 16, 1795, Bancroft Library, *Archivo de la misión de Santa Bárbara*, VI, 97-101.

3. A letter of Governor Borica to the Viceroy, Marqués de Branciforte, Monterey, August 4, 1798, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico [hereinafter cited as A.G.N.], *Californias*, Vol. 48, Part 2, contains the following statement: "At such time as the Peninsula [i.e., California] is greatly populated, and there is sufficient competition among producers, it will be possible to do away with the assize that represses the natural liberty which each person should have to dispose of surpluses as the occasion presents itself."

4. Decree of Felipe de Neve, Monterey, January 1, 1781, A.G.N., *Californias*, Vol. 48, Part 2.

5. The writer has been unable to find a copy of the Gálvez list. Evidence of its existence is contained in Neve's assize for Baja California, also issued January 1, 1781 (A.G.N., *Californias*, Vol. 48, Part 2). In his preface to the latter, Neve states that he has taken account of the prices established by Gálvez's decree of October 12, 1768, but that changed conditions in the peninsula have forced him to modify many of the items. The assize for Alta California is quite similar to the one for Baja California.

6. An incomplete list is found in Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1912), II, 674-75.

7. The assize provided one of the most fruitful sources of bickering between religious and civil authorities in this period. A discussion of this and other causes of ill-feeling, which became quite aggravated at times, may be found in Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884), I, Chapters 15 and 19.

8. Lasuén to Jacobo Ugarte, Monterey, October 20, 1787, A.G.N., *Californias*, Vol. 12.

9. The specific "incidents" which gave rise to Pages' charges, and the counter-charges of the friars, are not recounted here; although interesting for their own sake, they are not essentially relevant to this discussion. What is significant is the fact that the price of corn was not adjusted to a small harvest.

10. Fr. Francisco Palóu to the Viceroy, Conde de Gálvez, Mexico, March 27, 1786, A.G.N., *Californias*, Vol. 12. In the same letter, Palóu requested that the price schedule be revised annually by the Governor, with the advice of the Father President of the missions, on the basis of the production figures shown by the missions in their annual reports.

11. Pages to Sal, Monterey, May 12, 1786, Bancroft Library, Provincial State Papers, VI, 160-61.

12. Pages to Sal, San Gabriel, January 2, 1787, Bancroft Library, Provincial State Papers, VII, 168-69.

13. Palóu to Conde de Gálvez, Mexico, March 27, 1786, *op. cit.*

14. Fr. Isidro Alonso Salazar to the Viceroy, Marqués de Branciforte, Mexico, May 11, 1796, Museo Nacional, Mexico, *Documentos relativos a las misiones de las Californias*, Vol. 2.

15. Lasuén to Ugarte, Monterey, October 20, 1787, *op. cit.*

16. An unsigned and undated (but, written between 1781 and 1788) document in the Museo Nacional, Mexico, *Documentos relativos a las misiones de las Californias*, Vol. 2, contains a calculation designed to show that a cow which should have been sold for 6 pesos could yield hide, tallow, and meat to aggregate a value of 24 pesos 5 reales.

17. Lasuén to Ugarte, Monterey, October 20, 1787, *op. cit.* This competition, Lasuén states, was making it impossible for the missions to maintain themselves.

18. Borica to Marqués de Branciforte, Monterey, August 4, 1798, *op. cit.* Lieutenant José Argüello, in a letter to Borica, San Francisco, July 24, 1798, Bancroft Library, State Papers, Missions and Colonization, I, 71-78, submits proof of the fact that the Mission of San Francisco had been selling livestock to the presidio and transport vessels at excessive prices (1 peso per animal more than the schedule allowed).

19. Decree of Pedro Pages, Monterey, January 1, 1788, A.G.N., *Californias*, Vol. 48, Part 2. In preparation for this revision, Pages wrote to Lasuén on July 20, 1787, requesting data on mission crop harvests as soon as they were available (Bancroft Library, *Archivo de la Misión de Santa Bárbara*, VI, 19).

20. José Joaquín Arrillaga to the Viceroy, Félix Berenguer de Marquina, Loreto, March 24, 1802, A.G.N., *Californias*, Vol. 48, Part 2.

21. Draft of the Viceroy's order to Arrillaga, Mexico, March 25, 1803, A.G.N., *Californias*, Vol. 48, Part 2.

22. Even greater flexibility is indicated in a recommendation made in 1808 by the Real Tribunal de Cuentas. For supplies furnished the transports by the inhabitants of California, the Governor was to enforce the prices of the assize provided that crop harvests were small; if large, lower prices were to be charged.

GILLESPIE AND THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

*From Letters Dated February 11, 1846, to July 8, 1848,
to the Secretary of the Navy*

With an Introduction by GEORGE WALCOTT AMES, JR.

INTRODUCTION

FROM THE disturbed events which culminated in the acquisition of California by the United States, two enigmatical characters emerged to plague the historian. As the years have passed, the two men and their champions among the later authors have effectively beclouded the issue. These two men were John C. Frémont and Archibald H. Gillespie. One of the most controversial points has been: Why did Frémont return from the Oregon border whither he had gone in the early part of 1846? It may well have been a result of despatches or information given him by Gillespie. The latter set off after Frémont almost immediately upon his arrival in California, pursued him for mile after mile, and after an arduous and perilous chase finally caught up with him. Both turned back to California, although Frémont declared, and Gillespie supported his contention, that the Explorer was returning to refit for the journey back to the United States. Yet within a few days after the arrival of the party at Sutter's Fort, Frémont identified himself with the Bear Flag movement. Did Gillespie have secret orders for Frémont, or did he not? Many people have drawn up arguments for both views from the material at hand, but no conclusive evidence—conclusive for adherents to both sides of the question—has ever been presented.

Archibald H. Gillespie was sent west as a confidential secret agent of the United States Government to observe affairs in California. A lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps, he left Washington early in November, 1845, and crossed Mexico in civilian garb. Journeying from Mazatlán to Monterey via Honolulu in a United States sloop of war, he continued in his assumed civilian character until, as he says, the officers of the United States fleet disclosed his official connections. However, according to his own word, he took no part in Californian affairs, other than as an adviser, until the news of the war between Mexico and the United States became known. Then he helped organize the famed California Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Frémont.

After Commodore Stockton relieved Sloat as commander of the United States forces in California, and the conquest was pushed vigorously, Gillespie became an active participant in events. He was left in command of Los Angeles, when the south was thought to have been pacified and the bulk of the

United States troops returned north. Whether he, by injudicious acts, lighted the flames of hostility anew, does not concern this sketch, but he was the American leader who was forced to evacuate the city and embark with his men at San Pedro. The reinforcements sent him, together with his own forces, were defeated in an attempt to reestablish control of the town, and incidentally control of the whole southern area, since Los Angeles served as a rallying point for that district. While the United States forces were based at San Diego, recovering from defeat and recruiting for another effort, word arrived that a United States Army contingent under Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny had entered the country from the east. Gillespie was despatched with a small command to make contact with the General and to describe the situation to him. After making the juncture, Gillespie fought and was wounded in the skirmish at San Pascual. When the American flag was raised in Los Angeles in January, 1847, as a result of the two battles of La Mesa and San Gabriel, Gillespie had the honor and satisfaction of rehoisting it.

Thus it will be seen that Gillespie played an important rôle in the conquest. Not only did he have a conspicuous place because of his governmental position, but also because he took part in all the important campaigns. However, the little that is known of the man himself comes from the few, very few, letters, which have been published, and the one or two newspaper articles written by him in after life. The file of documents—eight letters—hitherto unpublished, depict his entire service from the time he left Mexico City in January, 1846, until the surrender of the California forces at Cahuenga, January 12, 1847. (Gillespie indicates that he wrote three more letters describing his departure from the United States and arrival in Mexico, but they have not been found, nor does the Navy Department have any record of having received them.) The eight letters here printed were written as reports directly to the Secretary of the Navy, and contain a mass of detail about matters as Gillespie saw them. Since he was writing confidentially, he was not afraid to state facts baldly. As to substance, the documents do not shed any new light on the burning question of secret instructions; the two indications given in the letters of July 25, 1846, and July 8, 1848, support first one side and then the other. The complete story of the conquest is told here by an active participant who until this time has been almost silent, a participant who was able to view events from a favored position. Although it is apparent that details concerning himself must be scanned with care, yet he was a trained observer and his descriptions are exceedingly well done. His account of the skirmish at San Pascual is one of the best ever written. The letters also tell of the character of the man, his energy and his egotism, something which has long needed explanation.

The publication of the documents, so long delayed, has been made possible by the forward looking policy of the United States Navy Department, expressed through the officer in charge of the Naval library and records, Captain Knox, retired. Scholars are now invited to work in the archives, and every as-

sistance is rendered them to facilitate research. The letters in question, which have been in the regular file for many years, seem to have been overlooked and have not even been used for footnote materials. When the Native Sons of the Golden West sent the present researcher to Washington, D. C., among the first documents he saw were those of Gillespie, and it was his high privilege to bring them west once more.

The letters speak for themselves, they need little editing; in fact, any persistent attempt to annotate them would destroy much of their charm, for they carry their own footnotes. No spelling or punctuation has been altered, although modern spelling has been suggested in a few cases. Archi H. Gillespie himself speaks:

Masatlan February 11 1846

To the Honorable
the Secretary of the Navy
Washington
Sir

The mail goes out tonight, I hasten to send you a few lines to announce my arrival at this place on the 9th instant, hoping they may reach Vera Cruz in time for the packet of the 1st prox.

I have traveled with all despatch from Tepic, and made journies of sixty and forty five miles per day on horseback, arriving here the afternoon of the sixth day.

I find here the Savannah, Constitution, Levant, Cyane, Portsmouth, Shark, and Store Ship Erie. the two last arrived on the 9th inst from Callao direct—The Warren is daily expected from Panama, having been sent for the mail of December—The HBM Razee America and Brig Frolic are also here—the Talbot is still at San Blas and the Modeste is daily expected from the North Coast. The English Admiral was bound to California, but received despatches at Honolulu, which caused him to return again to Tahite.

Yesterday I had an interview with Comm^r Sloat, and gave him your instructions—a vessel will immediatly be put in readiness to convey me to my place of destination, but having given out that I am on my way to China, it is better no particular haste should be evinced, as the British Cruisers very closely watch the movements of our Squadron.

The Squadron is in good health, and anxiously looking [for] definite news from the United States in relation to the present position of affairs.

Comm^r Sloat informed me that there is a sheet of Copper off of his ship below the water line, which he intends to have replaced as soon as the Erie is discharged.

From the North I hear anything that is favorable—not one word said, which is opposed to the views of those who wish well to the country—

The English Government send all its communications by Express across the country—The President's Message was sent express from Mexico to the

Commanding officer of the British Men of War in port.

There have been three Revolutions in this place within the last ten days but they were confined principally to the office seekers. The place is very quiet now and is the only town in a thriving condition in Mexico.

Begging you to excuse the haste in which this is written as I am obliged to select a time to escape observation.

I am, Sir
Very Respectfully
Your Mo. Obt. Serv't
ARCHI H. GILLESPIE

Masatlan February 18 1846

To the Honorable
the Secretary of the Navy
Washington
Sir

I addressed the Department from Tepic and also from this place, in haste, on the 11th instant. The object of the present communication, is to give the Department information of the travel across the country from Mexico, as also, some account of the feeling of the people of the interior toward the United States.

I left Mexico by the Diligence for Guadalajara, which place I reached on the afternoon of the seventh day. The greatest part of the road is pretty good, and mostly over the open country, without any labour or money having been expended to improve it. During the whole journey I was taken for a Mexican, and I entered into conversation with the people on the road and at different towns upon the topics which appear to occupy their minds almost entirely, those of the usurpation of General Paredes, and the War with the United States—I found them without exception, opposed to the rule of the Army and are very desirous, that a Treaty should be made that they might have peace—They say, "Our country is being destroyed by these selfish aspirants for power, and we wish for a government which will, like the United States, give us security and protection for our person and property"—The feeling is very strong against General Paredes, and force alone has placed his party in power; yet whilst these people are so opposed to the Army and the frequent changes of government, and are really very desirous to have peace, they have not energy to rise and put an end to this unfortunate state of the Country, which has resources almost beyond calculation—From Tepic to this place the country is very beautiful, and but a very small proportion is under cultivation—The Indian population however, is perhaps, the most miserable in the world. They live in a most degraded condition, and are satisfied with the meanest kind of fare—On the road from Guadalajara, I slept in mud huts, and at some of the places, I could procure nothing to eat, but the Tortilla cake made of

corn and water, baked on the ashes. They are almost without clothing, and present an appearance of less civilization than some of the Islanders of the Pacific.

Of all the numerous towns through which I passed, there is but one where there exists the least energy or industry. Leon is quite an industrious manufacturing town, and contains some 70,000 inhabitants. Serapes, Rebozos, Saddles, Bridles, Stirrups, Spurs and articles used in the interior of the country, are made at this place. The Serape made of wollen is the principal dress of the men of the Indian population, whilst the Rebozo is that of the women—The former is used as a shirt, blanket and protection against the weather—the latter is made of cotton and is used by every woman in the country, as a covering for the head and shoulders. The Departments of the North and interior are very generally supplied with these articles by Leon, where the noise of the Loom and Anvil is constantly heard, presenting an astonishing contrast to the rest of the country. A very rich capitalist was a passenger in the Coach as far as Leon, whither he went to make purchases to fill the return waggons, which had made the journey from St. Louis M^o. to the fair of San Juan, held on the 8th of December last, a distance of 900 leagues. I afterwards passed one of the waggons, and I assure you Sir, it was flattering to my feelings to meet with a familiar acquaintance like the Pennsylvania waggon so distant from my native land. One hundred and eighty of these waggons were at the fair loaded with American and foreign manufactures—When the goods are sold the waggons are disposed of at very high rates, being considered notwithstanding their long travel superior to anything of the kind made in Mexico—The fair of San Juan was very great this year, over 150,000 persons and 16,000 mules and horses were assembled there—Many goods were sold, but there was less money than usual; but to show the superstition of the people and the influence the priests have over them, the Church of San Juan during the eight days, which is the time allotted for its continuance, recieved in alms and gratuities fifty eight thousand dollars.

At Irapuato a small town between Queretaro and Guanahuato, we came up with the Infantry of the division of the Army on its march for the frontiers of Texas, and which left Mexico on the 8th January, 2700 strong, instead of 4000, as reported in the City. It was a cold rainy day, and there never were human beings in a more pitiable condition, than these poor Indians, who suffer without a murmur. They were dressed in summer Uniforms, without shoes, without blankets, and were even without provisions. They had actually begged their way from the City, and the officers had great difficulty in persuading the people to give their men, wherewith to sustain them on the March. In consequence of the heavy rains, which have been quite out of season this year, the Troops made very short marches, the men not being able to endure the fatigue, from actual scarcity of provisions—After leaving Guanahuato we came up with the Artillery 200 strong, and 1000 Cavalry—They had

halted at Celao, a small town, like the generality of these small places, falling to ruins. These last named troops were so very poorly appointed, that the men were obliged to lead their horses and keep two days in advance of the Infantry. At Celao, I conversed with some of the officers, who informed me that their fellows of the Division are very generally dissatisfied, and are quite unfavorable to the service upon which they have been ordered. In the first place, they were selected for this service from having been the last to hold out for the legitimate government, upon the approach of General Paredes to Mexico, and in the next, the want of money and provisions, have created general disaffection throughout the Division. General Ampudia who goes to command upon the frontier, is the only person who reaps any benefit from the service. General Arista has retired to private life, yet the general impression is, that he is ready to head a movement against the new government, and the arrival of the troops now on the march for the frontier, will no doubt hasten his declaration.

Guanahuato, at which place I passed the night, is one of the principal mining districts—It was so late when I arrived, that I could not visit any of the mines or the mint, yet I was enabled to collect some little information in relation to the operations of the past year. During 1845 there was coined at this Mint but \$2,100,000, whilst the Mines of Zacatecas yielded \$6,000,000. There is a population of 10,000 Indians, who subsist by the Mines, great numbers dying every year. In the mine "De la luz" 700 men died in two years, yet such is the infatuation of the people, their places are immediatly supplied, there being more applicants for work than are required—There are a great many English at Guanahuato who are principally engaged in Mining—I am informed that the English Company at Rio del Monte have almost failed, and that every dollar that they have gotten from the mine has cost them nine reals (\$1.12½). At Guadalajara orders were recieved by mail which arrived with myself, that every retired officer should immediatly repair to the frontier of Texas, or be considered as inimical to the government. The City was very quiet and I am told, the people give themselves very little trouble about the Government of the Capital.

From Tepic I sent a communication to the Department, written in haste, in relation to Don José Maria Castaños who holds the appointment of Consul—Since then I have learned, that he holds the appointment of Alcalde, and takes an active part in all the political affairs of the country—His contempt of Americans generally, and the disrespectful language he has used towards the government of the United States, are subjects of comment even in this place. I stated in the letter referred to, that there was a Mr Whiting at Tepic an American, and a very worthy person, who had said he would refuse the appointment were it offered to him, and that he has a Cotton Factory near Tepic—The Factory is owned by Barron, Forbes and Company, an English house of much reputation, and which has shown the greatest attention to Americans, though having the interest of its own nation close at heart.—Mr Forbes has

written a work upon California, and has strongly urged upon his government the possession of that province in exchange for claims against Mexico—Mr Barron H.B.M Consul having gone to England, Mr Forbes has charge of the Consulate, consequently Mr Whiting would not be a proper person to hold that of our nation. I visited the factory mentioned above, and was very much gratified to find all the Machinery from Newton, Mass; and all the foreigners employed, seven in number, to be Americans. There are 4500 spindles in operation, which employ 250 persons at 37½ per day—The Factory is in beautiful order, and reflects great credit upon the Superintendent Mr Whiting, who from his character and worth occupies a highly respectable position.

As the Department might wish to send a Messenger across the country, which can be done without any fear of molestation, an accurate account of the mode of travelling, will not be unimportant. From having entirely escaped observation, notwithstanding my annoying detention in Mexico, I feel fully satisfied no difficulty or interruption would be met with, if the Messenger were to speak Spanish and follow the following directions.

On leaving the United States a passport should be taken out from a Mexican Consul for Masatlan, as a Merchant. On arriving at Vera Cruz it will be countersigned, and receives the seal of the Prefect, and will then only be shown when required, which did not happen to me once after landing in the country—The Diligence leaves for the City of Mexico three times a week, and arrives on the afternoon of the fourth day—At all the different towns where the Coach stops over night, a Custom House officer is in waiting to search the luggage, yet rarely looks at the baggage of a respectable looking person, particularly if he shows himself ready to have it searched—Only twenty five pounds of luggage can be put upon the Coach by each passenger, consequently for dispatch a portmanteau can only be used. In Mexico the Coach stops at the "Hotel de las Diligencias" from which place, the Coach for Guadalajara also starts three times a week—Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays—so that arriving the evening previous to any of those days, there is but a detention of one night. Arriving at Guadalajara the afternoon of the seventh day, it is necessary to procure a Horse and Mule for Tepic, where you arrive the evening of the fourth day, by travelling at good speed—Should there not be any vessel sailing for Masatlan from San Blas, one day's ride from Tepic, it is advisable to proceed immediatly by land, and by travelling steadily the journey can be performed in six days. It is necessary to be well armed, and to show the pistols at all stopping places, for the Robbers, having spies in every Meson, do not think of attacking a traveller who is prepared to meet them. Twenty one days from Vera Cruz is the shortest time the journey can be performed in, without riding express.

The English Government are constantly sending expresses across the coun-

try—The Commanding officer of HBM America, a brother of Lord Aberdeen's, recieved the President's message several days before Commodore Sloat knew it was here. Our countrymen are constantly traveling throughout the Republic, without the least molestation, no questions being asked or notice being taken of them. The trade of Masatlan has increased so much, that travelling through Mexico has become a matter of every day occurrence. Commodore Sloat is very much in want of information from the Department, and is looking daily for the arrival of the Warren Sloop of War from Panama with the December mail. I hope to announce her arrival before I close this communication. Yesterday the Bando or decree to hold the elections for the Congress under the new government was published throughout this place. Very little notice was paid to it the people caring very little for the affairs of the City. General Urrea has arrived entirely without a party and having even but few private friends—he keeps himself very secluded never leaving his house; however the general impression appears to be, that he has come here for the purpose of pronouncing against the Government—Last night reports were circulated that another revolution would take place, but this morning every thing is quiet and nothing more said upon the subject. The Court Martial now holding on board of the Sloop of War Cyane, for the trial of Acting Midshipman Hobson of the Constitution, will probably adjourn on Friday or Saturday next, when I hope Comm^r Sloat will send that ship to sea. She will be despatched for the Sandwich Islands, to prevent the British Cruisers knowing anything about my movements—They are constantly on the watch, and suspect that the object of the Squadron being on this Coast, is to take the Californias, in the event of a war.

I find that the trade between this place and Monterey is very limited, and carried on in very small vessels—There is rarely one vessel in six months—the merchants here will no longer trust the people of Monterey, whose credit is entirely destroyed. Should the Department wish to communicate with the Squadron, a letter sent under cover to Mott, Talbot & Co at this place will, I think, arrive in perfect safety—There is little or any attention paid to correspondence, unless it be, of the different parties in the country, and it being generally understood that our government will not send correspondence across Mexico, I am fully persuaded there would be no danger of its being intercepted, particularly if it should appear upon its face to be a private letter.

Hoping to date my next letter from my place of destination.

I am, Sir

Very Respectfully etc.

A. H. GILLESPIE

To the Honorable
the Secretary of the Navy
Washington
Sir

At Sea April 15 1846

As I am now approaching my port of destination, I hasten to prepare a communication for the mail to be carried by this Ship to Masatlan.

Agreeably with the arrangements of Commodore Sloat, we sailed from Masatlan for the Sandwich Islands on 22^d February, and arrived there on 13th March, after a very pleasant passage of eighteen days. Captain Mervine had orders to remain at Honolulu but forty-eight hours, yet at the same time recieved orders to perform duty, take in Stores, and procure supplies for the Squadron which occupied him Six days, the officers making every exertion to hasten our departure. We finally sailed on the 19th, and have had one of the most disagreeable and stormy passages I have ever experienced—Constant headwind, blowing a gale from the East—hard for fourteen days, when the wind became very light, still blowing from E.S. E. and South East, accompanied with a very thick fog, the temperature cold and damp. We ran as far north as 45.23 yet did not meet with a Westerly wind, until 11th instant when the weather became clear and bright.

From the experience of this voyage, I am convinced that I was correct in supposing the voyage could be made much quicker along the Coast, than by going such an immense distance. It is considered by those with whom I have conversed, a passage of twenty days, but Comm^r Sloat insisted that it was a mistake, and would certainly take at least forty perhaps fifty days. As I considered his knowledge of such matters to be superior to my own I, of course was obliged to be governed by it, but I am now fully satisfied that my information was correct. The Commodore has also, perhaps, another object in view in causing this vessel to make so long a voyage; he did not wish to lessen his force more than was absolutely necessary, and as Supplies from the Islands are very much required, he made this Ship perform two duties, as upon the return passage it is necessary to run well to the North. It, also, somewhat served my purposes by drawing observation from my movements—

At Honolulu I found everything in relation to the Government in a worse state, than when I was there one year since in the Frigate Brandywine. Mr [George] Brown [U. S. Commissioner] was still suspended from all official intercourse, and fears of the British Government, alone prevented the English Consul General, Gen^l [William] Miller, from recieved similar treatment. The Americans generally are constantly in expectation of some unjustifiable attack from the Attorney General John Ricord, who is without doubt one of the veriest knaves who ever escaped from civilized society to become a Kanaka. All the trouble and difficulty under which the Americans have laboured for the last two years, has originated with this man, who was driven

from the settlement at the Willamette Falls, in consequence of his being a common disturber of the public peace; and when he landed at Honolulu he announced himself as "an adventurer, ready for anything"; which was the only recommendation he offered to our Consul when seeking employment, and that the Settlers did well to drive him from Oregon, has been satisfactorily proved by his conduct towards his countrymen at the Islands.

Among the most arbitrary acts of Mr Ricord, is the imprisonment of honest Seamen who may be awaiting on shore, the opportunity to ship in a new vessel; they having been discharged from the one in which they arrived, according to law.

All the arguments used and representations made by our Consul, Mr Abell, have not obtained the release of the Americans, who are confined in miserable dungeons, filled with filth and vermin, for no other reason, than that they will not take the oath of Allegiance to His Hawaiian Majesty; yet, the mere demand from General Miller, obtains the release of English Seamen imprisoned for the same alleged offence.

Whenever, in the course of discussion of the different questions which have arisen, the Authorities find that their opponents have justice and reason on their side, they descend to low abuse and ribaldry, the only mode by which they endeavor to extricate themselves from the unjustifiable and illegal positions they assume.

Justice, however, must be done the Natives, who know very little about the proceedings of Messrs Wylie, Judd [Robert Crichton Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, Minister of Finance], and Ricord; or if they are informed of the acts of the Ministers, the latter have so completely gotten possession of the Authority of the Chiefs, it will be only from apprehension of danger to the Kingdom, they will be awakened to a sense of the wrong done them by these foreigners, who are not actuated by motives of philanthropy, but solely with a view to their own interests.

The Department may be assured, that this is not a hastily formed opinion, or prejudice upon my part. The men who have control of the King of Hawaii, cannot be correctly judged but upon the scene of their malicious and wicked acts; for I cannot conceive of an act of greater cruelty, than to immure in an unwholesome filthy dungeon, the receptacle of the most degraded Indians, an honest Sailor, who is awaiting on shore the opportunity to get employment in another Ship, and that too, because he will not forswear his allegiance to his country and his home. A circumstance of this nature, presented itself when this Ship was at Honolulu. A Sailor had then been imprisoned several months, without any attention having been paid to the protest of the Consul, or any remonstrance having been made by the Captains of any of our Men of War, to effect his release. which had induced Mr Ricord to go about the town, jeering at the Government of the United States, and ridiculing the authority of our Naval Commanders. If this person were dispossessed of the position he

now occupies, and the influence he has obtained over his Hawaiian Majesty, any similar conduct would be unworthy of notice; but occupying as he does a respectable post under the Government, it gives might to his remarks, which under other circumstances would not receive the least attention.

Our countrymen were looking for the arrival of the New Commissioner with great anxiety, hoping to find in him, a person of dignity, talents, and decision of character, which may enable him, to arrange the existing difficulties. The Americans are highly respectable and very peaceably disposed. They make no objection to the Hawaiian laws, they only wish justice to be dispensed according to them, and not according to the construction of them or ipse dixit of Mr Ricord; who has such control and influence over Messrs Wylie and Judd, that his opinion is law; in consequence of which, some of the most arbitrary acts have emanated from them, such as would disgrace an Eastern despotism—Ilegal proceedings have been carried to such an extent, it is impossible to say how far they will allow their passions and prejudices to carry them, for the Hawaiian Code is now translated by them to suit their own purposes. The Missionaries, those worthy men, who have done so much to advance the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Islanders, and to whom in connexion with the Whalemén, the King of Hawaii is indebted for the position he now holds among the nations of earth, view with sorrow the present state of affairs; and say, they little thought they would ever see this day, when their own countrymen or any other, would suffer injustice from one who was formerly one of their members. They censure in the most decided manner Dr Judd, who being entirely ignorant of diplomatic affairs and of the practice of law, is governed in everything by Mr Ricord. That this person should have obtained such an ascendancy is singularly strange, as he is ignorant of even the forms of polite society; it is impossible for him to speak a few words in public; he cannot address a jury, and is obliged to reduce upon paper every idea he wishes to convey.

The present state of affairs cannot last much longer, and the greatest fear now entertained there is, that the English Agents will receive some insult, which will call forth the interference of the English Squadron, Admiral Seymour having asserted most positively, that he will immediately notice any insult to the flag, or any tampering with the Allegiance of English Subjects.

It is evidently the intention of the English Government to make a depot at the Islands. By an understanding with the Authorities, Mr Pelley, the Agent of the Hudson's Bay Company is building a large Store House, which is no doubt intended for the Naval Forces, in connexion with the Company; which already has a Store and Sheds, sufficiently large for any moderate supply; particularly as the amount of English Stores sold at the Islands, is small compared with the receipt of Flour Salmon, and lumber from the Oregon Settlements; which supplies are so soon disposed of, that under the existing state of affairs, I view with well founded suspicion any preparations which may be

made, at this day, by British Agents to secure a foothold in this most flourishing region of Polynesia. and besides, it appears somewhat singular, that the Hudson's Bay Company should erect their Stores at the present moment, when the question of permanence of its authority in Oregon is being discussed. Mr Pelley is a man of much influence at home, is a shrewd politic man, and by paying court to Mr Ricord is enabled to obtain anything he wishes. He has a great hatred of the American people generally; which sometimes shows itself in a plain manner, and whilst he may be upon terms of intimacy and apparent good feeling with our Countrymen, is ever ready to turn to his own and the advantage of his Government, any difficulties which may arise. Mr Ricord is flattered by the court and high opinion of Mr Pelley, who throughout his intercourse with the foreign officials, has been governed by selfish motives.

The American residents at Honolulu are well aware of the intimacy and good understanding existing between these persons, yet appear to have lost sight of the object, the Agent has in view; their attention being drawn to the difficulties existing with the Consular Agents, whilst the quiet intrigue in another quarter escapes unnoticed. My impressions may be erroneous, but I know Mr Pelley so well both from observation and reputation, that I am fully satisfied he is a person who should be closely watched, if it be the interest of our Government, that the Independence of the Sandwich Islands should be maintained.

Notwithstanding the difficulties and annoyances our Countrymen have had to contend against, they continue to arrive at the Islands, which are increasing in wealth, quite beyond the expectations of the most sanguine settlers. The Imports the last year were very large, amounting to \$706,102.78, being an increase upon former years of \$196,594.69; and 'tis estimated that there is about \$150,000 of goods on hand. The Exports show a flattering increase of agriculture, towards which the attention of the Settlers is now principally drawn. The total amount of Exports for the year 1845 was \$706,102.78, of which Sugar and Molasses made the greatest proportion. Of the former there were 302,114 pounds; of the latter, 19,353 Gallons. There was also exported \$55,000 in Specie, the largest proportion of which is left at the Islands by the Vessels of War. I should have noticed above under the head of Imports, that \$59,666.06 was from Columbia River and California, in Lumber, flour, fish, furs, hides, tallow and horses. The sum total of the revenue for the year 1845 amounted to \$30,000, a very large proportion of which, was paid by our countrymen; Men of War, Whalemens and Merchant traders. showing very plainly, that it is to the Americans the King of Hawaii is indebted for the great prosperity of his Kingdom, yet they are those who are constantly being injured in their persons and property, by the advice of an adventurer, who neither from his public or private character, would receive the notice of honest men in any other part of the world.

At Honolulu I met with a Mr Ricker who had just returned from a trading voyage to Kamtchatka and Columbia River—He gave me much interesting information, and related one circumstance respecting Oregon, which it is highly important should be known to the Department. Mr Ricker was in Oregon some six weeks, and while at Astoria, one of the Agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, after considerable negotiation, induced a Negro, who had been one of the Crew of the Peacock, and had settled upon the point of land known as "Cape Disappointment," to dispose of it to the Company for \$400. A Fort at Cape Disappointment will command the entrance to the River, and that this purchase was made with a view to such defence, was generally understood, and was not doubted by any one. This movement was looked upon by the Settlers, as showing a decidedly hostile feeling; at all events, a determination to be prepared in the event of war.

H.B.M Sloop of War Modeste was at Columbia River at the last accounts, and had been there sometime. The Settlers shew much feeling upon her entrance, and most heartily wished that they could sieze their rifles and rake her decks as she passed. They look with great anxiety and hope for the arrival of an Agent of our Government, if not to take immediate jurisdiction, at least, to have an eye upon the movements of British Agents. They fear that our vessels of war will not visit them, and hope the day is not far distant, when they will recieve the protection of the Star Spangled Banner.

The above is almost in the words of Mr Ricker, who is a very intelligent person, and also stated, that the enthusiasm and patriotism of our Country-men is very great, and that they will be ready at a moments warning, to rally around the Standard of our Country's Union, in defence of the principles and liberties handed down to us by our forefathers, and which are now maintained by the President of the United States.

I am, Sir

Very Respectfully
Your M^o Obt Serv,t.
ARCHI H. GILLESPIE.

Monterey April 18th 1846

To the Honorable
Secretary of the Navy
Washington
Sir

I have the pleasure to announce my arrival at this place, after a passage of 29 days from the Sandwich Islands. Although I have been so long reaching the end of my journey, I find that I bring the latest dates from U States, as also, from Mexico; and under every circumstance, it was much better that I went to Oahu. The passage was made from Honolulu a few weeks since in twelve days—

I regret very much that I cannot give as favorable an account of the state of the Country, as I anticipated I would be able to send you; however, I do not look upon the present feeling against the settlers as indicative of any honest patriotism towards the Government of Mexico. Should the letters from the gentlemen to whom you *gave me letters of introduction* have arrived, you will have been informed of the unwarranted attempt made to drive Capt Fremont from the country, and of the bold and chivalrous manner in which he entrenched his small party, and defied the approach of some two hundred of the people of the country to attack him; and of his having left this section, without any molestation. The whole affair on the part of these people, was a demonstration to make Capital at the city of Mexico; from whence they have been fearful an expedition would be sent, to compel them to subject themselves to the Central Government.

Don José Castro, the Commandant General, is a man devoid of principal, and is now endeavoring to get up a revolution to depose the Governor of California, Don Pio Pico, who resides some four hundred miles south of this, at the Pueblo de los Angeles; and has asserted, "that if the Government of Mexico should send a force against California, he will immediatly join the Emmigrants, rally as many as he can to defeat the Expedition; but on the other hand, should they be satisfied with the present state of affairs, and not endeavor to compel him to subject himself to the Central Government, he will do his utmost to keep the Americans out of the Country," which is no more in his power, than it is for him to command the Sun to stand still, or to shine no more. General Castro has no force, say, some twenty five men, called Soldiers, composed principally of degenerated Indians; but he can gather some two or three hundred Californians of Spanish blood, who have a holy horror of the American rifle, and will never expose themselves to make an attack—Whilst there are, at least, three hundred riflemen, whom the honest intention of settling a new country has drawn from their Native land; and are ready at a moments warning to rally in defence of their new homes and firesides. There are now some thousand emmigrants in California, who respect the laws of the land, such as they are—It is very true, that they are left very much to their own Government; the Authority of the Mexican Republic, being scarcely felt in this far distant region; yet they have never violated any laws, which would authorise any warfare being made upon them. Three hundred Riflemen offered their services to Cap't Fremont, who, had he pleased, might have taken the country; but as he has written to my friend, he "had done no wrong either to the people or the Authorities, and as he intended to keep good faith with the Mexican Republic, he could not accept the Services of his Countrymen.—"

Cap't Frémont has gone to the North, whither I shall proceed immediatly, and will no doubt overtake him in four days, & will be able to return here in time for the next ship; which I expect will reach this in the course of a few days or two weeks; and should I obtain from him any thing of importance, will

send a Courier across the Southern country as you directed. I am now writing in very great haste for this Ship, Cap't Mervine being in such haste, that it was with difficulty the Consul and myself could persuade him to remain to give an opportunity, to write even short letters, much less collect any information. My friend here, complains very much that this has always been the case, whenever our men of War have been here, thus losing the very best opportunity for sending despatches. —In consequence of which, I beg leave to advise, that some instructions be sent to the Squadron in relation to the necessity of waiting at this port a sufficient time to prepare correspondence for the Mail —I would not mention this fact, did I not know, that there is no reason why this ship should not remain here at least forty eight hours—

The Country in this vicinity is beautiful, and presents to the sea one of the most beautiful landscapes I have ever seen. The verdure is very rich, and the hills are covered with groves of pines, free from undergrowth, giving the ensemble an appearance of an extensive park. The town of Monterey is small, containing not over one hundred houses, built upon streets running back from the beach, but are in some cases far apart. Everything about the town has a primitive appearance, and nothing is to be met with, that will remind the traveller of the refinements of long settled countries. But I am happy to inform the Department, that I find our Consul, a gentleman entirely different from what I anticipated and every way worthy of the confidence reposed in him; and occupies a position here, which has enabled him to protect the interest of our Countrymen with all the zeal his patriotism inspires, and his good judgement would dictate. I am sorry however to learn, that he thought of resigning the Consulship, in consequence of his bills having been protested, and the allowance made to him by the Department being so small, as to subject him to serious loss, & from what I have been able to gather from him, to much mortification; for the fact of his having drawn for the amount of the actual expenses incurred, induced the impression that the Department thought, he had increased the amount beyond the expenditure; however, the instructions I have brought him and the explanations I have made, have removed all unpleasant feelings. —Expenses here are very much greater than I had any idea they would be. —To give an example, Mr Larkin wished to send a Courier to the North, which would have cost some \$150 to \$200, and which service I intend to perform myself, thus obtaining much information by personal observation, and which will enable me to give early advice; but I will at the same time have to suffer much fatigue and hardship with much privation; however, I feel quite equal to it, and I mention the circumstance solely to assure the Department, it need have no fears for my safety or the good success of the undertaking. To return however to the subject of Expenses and the protested Bills of the Consulate, I will as soon as possible, make enquiry into the matter, and give the Department early information of the same.

I find the English Vic Consul [James Alexander Forbes] and French Consul

[Louis Gasquet, Acting French Consul] have scarcely any standing here. The English Consul is now at Yerba Buena at San Francisco, and the Frenchman has nothing what ever to occupy him, nor has he the least influence with the people.

The last accounts from Oregon are not so late as I obtained at Honolulu yet they are somewhat different. It is said that all the Government Agents and also those of the Hudson's Bay Company have put themselves under the authority of the local Government and pay every respect to the laws. Mr Rea [William Glen Rae], who is mentioned in your despatch, shot himself not long since and has been succeeded by a Mr [Dugald] McTavish who has orders to dispose of the property of the Company in California and return to Oregon. This person was here a short time since and has stated that Dr McLaughlin the H.B. Company's Superintendent finding that Settlers were making such rapid progress towards forming a Government wrote to England for instructions what course to pursue and recieved for reply "to act toward the settlers in such a manner as to him might seem best" consequently he immediatly put himself under the protection of the local authorities.

Since writing the foregoing the Consul has recieved a note from Cap't Merwine in reply to one addressed to him by Mr Larkin, stating that he could not possibly prepare his correspondence in the short time Capt M proposed remaining, wherein Capt M consents to remain until tomorrow forenoon.

Since my arrival there has been so much excitement, and such enquiry made about who I am, and what brings me to this part of the world, I have not been able to converse with but one gentleman in relation to the Country. He is a very worthy Scotchman, and has been in the Country some twenty one years. Mr Spence speaks of California as the garden spot of the world, and not to be equalled by any other. He told me, that in September last a Mine of quicksilver was discovered near Santa Clara, situated eighteen leagues south of San Francisco, which produced eight ounces of silver from fifteen of earth. The mode of obtaining the Silver was very primitive. The Indians procured an old Musket barrel, stopped the touch hole & placed the Muzzle in a bucket of water, having first rammed the earth into the barrel as hard as possible. They then made a fire under it and the quicksilver flowed into the water in a stream. Mr Spence assured me that there is no doubt of the truth of the story—Near the same place large pieces of lead have been found upon the surface of the earth—In the south, near San Diego, there is a Copper mine, so near the sea that vessels can load without any difficulty, in a very short time. There is also plenty of Coal well calculated for household purposes. I have mentioned above, that the hills in this vicinity are beautifully green—Much to my surprise, Mr Spence informed me that they are covered with Wild Oats, the spontaneous growth of the soil, and that to the North of this, whole sections are covered in like manner; and as this gentleman remarked "We only want a Government which will secure our property to us to be the richest people in the

world"—So little attention is paid to the commission of crime, that there is scarcely any security for property—The Indians have now become so troublesome and bold, that they come into the towns at night and plunder all horses and cattle they can find; however they are careful not to molest any settlement of American Emigrants, whom they fear and respect. They have discernment to discover that the Californians are cowardly and inert, and that the Americans will punish them without mercy if they should be caught stealing. The Government of California must soon fall into the hands of a very different set of men, than those who direct its destinies at present; and as this last movement will no doubt satisfy General Paredes of the Patriotism of the officials here, no interference need be looked for from that quarter—The tide of Emigration will continue to flow on rapidly, and will place beyond doubt or fear any European interference. It would be perfectly impossible for any European Power to take possession of the country, unless it were over run by an Armed force; in the event of which, the prognostication of the Department would be too truly verified.

I have just seen the Original Correspondence, which passed between the Commandant General and Our Consul, in relation to Captain Frémont. The translations made of them, and forwarded a few days since by the Consul to the Department, (duplicates of which accompany this in another packet) are quite correct—One or two words might be altered, but would not change the sense of the letters. I enclose a Copy of the letter written from the Camp by Cap't Frémont, when the force sent to compel him to leave the country could be seen with the Glass from the Entrenchment; & upon the same sheet I write the version of the affair as given to me by Mr Spence.

This moment Mr Melless [Henry Mellus], the gentleman to whom my Boston friends gave me letters, has stepped into my room and informs me, that Don José Castro shew[ed] him an order from Tornel, who was Minister of War under Gen'l Herrera, wherein, he reprimands the Commandant General for permitting Cap't Fremont to enter the territory on his first expedition, and directing in case he should return to the country, to drive him from its limits. Castro remarked at the same time "You see I had good authority for what I have done, but do you suppose I would have injured that man or made an attack upon him? No, indeed! I made use of the circumstance to suit my purposes, and to insure my position at Mexico"—A friend of Castro's, Don Juan B. Alvarado was present at the time the above remarks were made, and approved of the measures which had been taken. Alvarado is a man of much influence here, but has intemperate habits and is not to be relied upon. Mr Melless assures me, that the people generally are very indignant, that Cap't Fremont has been treated in this manner; that they all speak in warm praise of his conduct, and of the course he pursued being so different from the officers of Mexico, who never pay for what they get and use the people harshly and with great contempt. My friend also states, that he has just heard that there is

a representation in town from the peoples of the country (Spanish Californians) wishing to know from Don José Castro, what becomes of the duties of the Custom House at this place amounting to near \$90,000—They also wish to know “why they are taxed to pay for raising bodies of Armed men, & why a number of vagabond idle officers are kept here, drawing pay without rendering any service to the Country”. From the same person I learned that a new law is being enforced or attempted, to prevent Emmigrants from settling upon lands, requiring from every stranger, letters of Citizenship, which must be taken out in Mexico and cannot be obtained short of two or three years and much doubt is entertained if they would be granted at all. Castro published an advertisement, which he posted up in the Billiard Room and Café upon his return from his demonstration before the small band of the gallant Frémont, wherein he stated, that he had driven the gang of Bandoleros commanded by an officer of the U.S. Army from the Country and has wiped out the stain upon “the honor Nacional”—This Bando has given great offence to the Majority of the people, who say, it was an unmerited insult; and even Castro himself told Mr Melles, that “so far from Cap’t Fremont having done anything wrong, he turned an old horse out of his camp which had strayed with those of the party and using strong language he remarked “se ha portado como un buen caballero y un honrado official”—“he has conducted himself as a worthy gentleman and an honorable officer.”

From the above I trust the Department will be able to gather that Cap’t Fremont has pursued a highminded honorable course, and that Don Jose Castro is a treacherous cowardly knave—and I assure the Department his looks do not belie his character.

That the Department may know if all my letters come to hand, I commence this as number *one*, it being the first I have written in the country, which I send in haste, and pray the Department to read with a lenient eye, pardoning all errors as I have had to write as I could get an opportunity, and mostly written since ten o’clock ’tis now near one A.M. I give the Department the dates of all letters written up to this time. From Vera Cruz 13th Dec’r 1845

“ Mexico 17th Jan’y 1846

“ Tepic 3d Feb’y “

“ Masatlan 12th “ “

“ “ 21st “ “

At sea 16th April “

The precautions I have taken, warrent me in writing so fully and distinctly, and I feel quite certain of my letter reaching the Department from 10th to 15th June, should there be no change in the affairs of Mexico.

I am, Sir,

Very Respectfully

Your Obt Serv,t

ARCHI H. GILLESPIE

(To be continued)



GENERAL MARIANO G. VALLEJO AT THE AGE OF 70

Reproduced from a photograph in the possession of
Mrs. Francisca V. McGettigan, his granddaughter.

MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO

and

SONOMA

A Biography and a History

By GEORGE TAYS

CHAPTER X

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS AT SONOMA AND EVENTS FROM 1839 TO 1843

WHILE Vallejo was quarreling with Governor Alvarado and dealing with the Russians and with Sutter, Sonoma slowly developed into a small village which attracted a number of distinguished foreign visitors, among the first of whom was Johann August Sutter, who arrived in July, 1839. Vallejo offered him some fine land to induce him to settle there, which Sutter refused. Salvador Vallejo was so astonished at this that he exclaimed, "My God! What does this man want anyway?" Sutter did not want land in a settled area. He wanted to be alone in the wilds, near navigable water, where he could be in full control of affairs. Such a place he later found at the junction of the Sacramento and American rivers, where he founded the settlement of New Helvetia.¹

Concerning the visit to Sonoma in December, 1839, of Thomas Shaw, of the ship *Monsoon*, with William H. Davis and Jacob P. Leese, Vallejo's brother-in-law, Davis wrote:

We were very cordially received, handsomely entertained at dinner, and invited to pass the night, which we did. On retiring we were shown to our several apartments; I found an elegant bed with beautifully trimmed and embroidered sheets and coverlid and pillows; but on getting into it I discovered there were no blankets, an oversight of the servant, and as the whole house had retired I could not arouse anybody to secure them, lay there shivering and shaking through the night, wishing there were a little less elegance and a little more comfort.²

In January, 1841, Chief Factor James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company came to California to establish a post in San Francisco, to buy cattle and sheep to send back to Oregon, and to get permission to trap in the central valley. He did not visit Sonoma, but did correspond with Vallejo.³

During the late summer of 1841, Sonoma was visited by Lieutenant Cadwalader Ringgold, U.S.N., and several officers of the Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition, who arrived in San Francisco on August 14, 1841.

According to Captain Wilkes, Vallejo was not overscrupulous in demanding duties from vessels entering San Francisco Bay; a statement that shows how little Wilkes knew about California politics. Probably Vallejo would have liked to have collected duties, but the Monterey *politicos* never gave him

a chance. He was entirely dependent on those officials for any money from that source. Wilkes also accused Vallejo of showing a striking disregard for the lives, property, and liberty both of Indians and civilized people and stated that the General had quite a reputation for hunting Indians.⁴ Wilkes, however, had no personal contact with Vallejo, since he never visited Sonoma.

The young French diplomatic agent, Eugène Duflot de Mofras, arrived in California in May, 1841, and early in June visited Sonoma. He remained several days and then went on to Fort Ross, where he arrived on June 11.

Visitor and host seem to have shared a mutual dislike. Vallejo considered Mofras an intelligent, highly educated man, who could be a gentleman if he chose. He intimated, however, that Mofras was a drunkard—conceited, arrogant, and inclined to look down upon and despise Californians. Mofras, in his book, was not complimentary to Vallejo, though he was neither severe nor abusive. He noted that at the time of his visit, the population of Sonoma was about 150 persons, of whom some twenty were foreigners.⁶

On December 30, 1841, Sir George Simpson, Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, arrived in San Francisco from Oregon aboard the *Cowlitz*. On January 3, 1842, he visited Sonoma in company with John McLoughlin and James A. Forbes, where they were received with an artillery salute and the hoisting of colors.⁷ Simpson thus described the scene:

Through a gateway and a courtyard, we ascended a half-finished flight of steps to the principal room of the General's house, being of fifty feet in length, and of other dimensions in proportion. Besides being disfigured by the doors of chambers, to which it appeared to be a passage, this apartment was very indifferently furnished, the only tolerable articles on the bare floor being some gaudy chairs from Woahoo [Oahu], such as the native islanders themselves often make. This was California all over,—the richest and most influential individual in a professedly civilized settlement obliged to borrow the means of sitting from savages, who had never seen a white man till two years after San Francisco was colonized by the Spaniards. . . .⁸

Salvador Vallejo and Jacob P. Leese welcomed the guests who a few minutes later were courteously received by the General in his bedroom, where he was confined because of an injury to his hip which he had suffered while roping cattle. The visitors spent a half hour with him and then breakfasted. Señora Vallejo had the place of honor, followed by her sister, the wife of Captain Fitch; next came a sister-in-law, wife of Captain J. B. R. Cooper, followed by another sister-in-law, Mrs. Leese, with an unmarried sister and Mrs. Cooper's daughter. Of this gathering Sir George Simpson wrote:

It won't be the General's fault, if the English race does not multiply in California; so far as names went, we might have supposed ourselves to be in London or in Boston.

In front of Mr. Leese, who sat at the head of the table as master of the ceremonies, was placed an array of five dishes, two kinds of stewed beef, rice, fowls, and beans. As all the cooking is done in outhouses,—for the dwellings, by reason of the mildness of the climate, have no chimneys or fireplaces,—the dishes were by no means too hot when put on the table, while, by being served out in succession to a party of about twenty people, they became each colder than the other, before they reached their destinations. It was

some consolation to know that the heat must once have been there. for every thing had literally been seethed into chips, the beans or *frijoles* in particular having been first boiled, and lastly fried with an intermediate stewing, to break the suddenness of the transition. Then every mouthful was poisoned with the everlasting compound of pepper and garlick; and this repast, be it observed, was quite an aristocratic specimen of the kind, for elsewhere we more than once saw, in one and the same dish, beef, and tongue, and pumpkin, and garlick, and potatoes in their jackets, and cabbage, and onions, and tomata, and pepper, and Heaven knows what besides,—this last indefinite ingredient being something more than a mere figure of speech, considering that all the cookery, as one may infer from the expenditure of so much labour, is the work of native drudges, unwashed and uncombed. When to the foregoing sketch are added bad tea and worse wine, the reader has picked up a perfect idea of Californian breakfast, Californian dinner, and Californian supper, and is quite able to estimate the sacrifice which a naturalized John Bull makes for the pleasures of matrimony and the comforts of Roman Catholicism. . . .¹⁰

General Vallejo is a good-looking man of about forty-five years of age [really only thirty-four at that time], who has risen in the world by his own talent and energy. His father, who was one of the most respectable men in California, died about ten years ago in Monterey, leaving to a large family of sons and daughters little other inheritance than a degree of intelligence and steadiness almost unknown in the country.¹¹

The guests inspected Vallejo's buildings and premises which occupied an entire block of almost six hundred feet facing the plaza on its north side. At the east end of the block was the two-story adobe barracks, 110 feet long and 50 feet wide. The eastern half of the barracks contained a large assembly hall 52 feet long and 45 feet wide; and along the front of the second story was a five-foot balcony extending the full length of the building. A high adobe wall about 25 feet long, with a wide gate, connected the western end of the barracks with the eastern end of the General's home. Vallejo's mansion was also a two-story adobe, in the form of an L. The main wing, about 130 feet long, faced south and, like the barracks, had a balcony along the front. The other wing projected from the west end toward the north, and was about 100 feet long, both wings being 50 feet wide. At the western corner formed by the intersection of the wings, rose a square tower four stories high. It was about 15 feet square, and around each of the three upper stories was a narrow balcony used by the sentries on guard. Another high adobe wall, 150 feet long, in which was a wide gate, connected the west side of the tower with the east end of Salvador Vallejo's home, which stood at the western end of the block. Don Salvador's house was also a two-story adobe, about 100 feet long, with a balcony along its front. Back of the homes lay spacious gardens, surrounded by a wall, fences, stables, and barns.

Across the street, east of the barracks, stood the church and mission buildings of San Francisco Solano. Along the block fronting on the east side of the plaza, rose the Sonoma jail, the home of Lieutenant Prado Mesa and those of several private individuals, all of adobe. On the western side of the plaza were the two-story adobe homes of Jacob P. Leese, Victor Prudon, and Captain Henry D. Fitch, while scattered among the other blocks were the houses of the

remaining citizens of Sonoma. These few buildings formed the village of Sonoma in 1842.

Sir George Simpson was amused by the number of officers commanding the thirteen soldiers of the Sonoma garrison. He also remarked on the variety of type and color of their uniforms. Each man's clothing was as individual as if he belonged to a different regiment. One was blue, another was buff, and a third one red, etc.:

The only articles common to the whole of this baker's dozen are an enormous sword, a pair of nascent moustaches, deer-skin boots, and that everlasting *serape*, or blanket, with a hole in the middle of it, for the head. This troop the General turns to useful account, being clearly of the opinion that idleness is the very rust of discipline; he makes them catch his cattle, and, in short, discharge the duty of servants-of-all-work—an example highly worthy of the imitation of all military autocrats. The system, however, has led to two or three revolts. On one occasion, a regiment of native infantry, being an awkward squad of fifteen Indians, having conspired against the General, were shot for their pains; and more recently the Californian soldiers, disdaining to drive bullocks, were cashiered on the spot, and replaced by new levies. Besides the garrison, the General possesses several field-pieces and carronades, which, however, are, by reason of the low state of the ammunition, rather ornamental than useful.¹²

Vallejo had a small vineyard about 100 yards square behind the house, which in 1842 was five years old. That year it produced 250 gallons of wine and 280 gallons of brandy. He also had peach and pear trees, three years old and fifteen to twenty feet tall, which then bore fruit.

At dinner General Vallejo appeared, wrapped in his cloak, and his mother, an agreeable woman of sixty, also was present. The meal was almost a counterpart of the breakfast. The same Mr. Leese presided over the same stew, the same beans, and the same pepper and garlic, with the same dead and alive temperature in every morsel. There was but one difference: the guests had a better appetite. The meal was served by one miserable bare-legged Indian servant, dressed in a shirt. When dinner was over, the ladies retired and the men went for a walk. Shortly after, they reassembled for tea, when several young ladies from the town joined them. Dancing of the fandango, the cotillon, and the waltz followed to the tune of guitars played by Don Salvador and one of the troopers. Sir George added: "The scene was rather peculiar for a ball-room, both gentlemen and ladies, when not on active service, smoking furiously, with fully more, in some cases, than the usual accompaniments."¹³

Among the guests was a fierce-looking paunchy little man, enveloped in an immense cloak. He was Lieutenant Prado Mesa, Commander of the Presidio of San Francisco, an Indian fighter of note, who was always getting into private quarrels with almost fatal consequences. Vallejo told his guests about several of them. At a religious festival in 1840, Mesa had intervened in a spat between Francisco Guerrero and his mistress, whereupon the latter stabbed Mesa in the stomach. At another festival, just about dawn, one of Mesa's numerous enemies went up to him and, drawing his knife, said: "What, here it's daylight, and no one stabbed yet!" He made a pass at the fat man with

his deadly blade, and it required all of Vallejo's powerful influence to nip a very promising murder in the bud.

Vallejo's family was growing in number as well as in years. After Plutarco's birth in June, 1839, eighteen months elapsed before Doña Francisca gave birth to the next child. When on a cold wintry morning, February 5, 1841, the new baby arrived, the General was reading from the works of Plato and so upon the infant he bestowed the name of one of the world's greatest thinkers.

All went well in the Vallejo household until the summer of 1841, when Plutarco, the other little Greek thinker, was stricken by an illness at the tender age of two years and one month to which he succumbed on July 11.

While Don Guadalupe's family was increasing, Sonoma's population was also growing. By 1841, a goodly number of foreigners had settled there, and some twenty-three large land grants had been made. Among the recipients were Victor Prudon, James Scott, Edward M. McIntosh, Edward Bale, James Dawson, Captain Stephen Smith, Jasper O'Farrell, Captain Henry D. Fitch, Captain John B. Cooper, and Jacob P. Leese; the last three being brothers-in-law of General Vallejo, Fitch having married Mrs. Vallejo's sister, Josefa Carrillo, while Cooper and Leese were the husbands of Encarnacion and Rosalia Vallejo, respectively. These grants, comprising 400,143 acres, were scattered throughout the northern frontier. By 1841, that frontier, and especially Sonoma, had passed from the wild and barbaric stage and had become, more or less, settled territory.

When General Micheltorena took command of the Territory, Vallejo was left without any particular command; so in order to save his dignity and soothe his feelings, the Governor, on October 6, 1842, appointed him commander of the northern line from Sonoma to Mission Santa Inés. Vallejo accepted the appointment gratefully,¹⁴ and on October 15, 1842, wrote to the new Governor that Sutter was intriguing on the Sacramento:

At this moment I have just been informed that on the Sacramento River there has been an uprising of the native tribes, that there also are being assembled from different places a considerable number of foreigners, some of them with well-known bad tendencies, and it is to be feared that they may intend to pervert the peace; for it has come to be known, I do not know in what way, that the director of the colony on the Sacramento will soon find himself greatly compromised with the government, because of his former conduct and his marked tendency to conspire; he is now invoking his great prestige with the agents of the Hudson's Bay and its numerous hunters. (I believe that this is an exaggeration on Captain Sutter's part, for Ermatinger and the rest of the important men in the company have assured me that they would help me or deport him in case I should think it compatible with the national decorum; of course I did not accept their offer, 1st, because I have twice the force I need to dominate the situation; 2nd, because I do not want Sutter and his friends to lose the money which they have invested in the Sacramento, and I would rather make known to the government that it should establish its proposed colony there), now threatening each day to send a call for French warships which they assure us only await his summons in order to take possession of California. I am aware that the Supreme Government is well informed of all the steps taken by our guest and will soon proceed against him and his accomplices.

Since this may be transcendental, I make it known to you. I regret infinitely to trouble you, who are so recently arrived, but it is necessary and indispensable, considering the small force that is found here; quite sufficient for ordinary cases, but altogether inadequate in case the Indians from the San Joaquin, united with those from the Sacramento and the trappers from Missouri, should attack me on one side; and the Satiyomis should attack me on the other; to which is added the lack of resources upon which I may depend, and the isolation of the frontier and the lack of contact with the other places of the country.¹⁵

A few days after Vallejo sent this warning, he was greatly surprised to hear that on October 19, 1842, Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones had entered Monterey Bay with two American naval vessels, and that on the morning of October 20, he had taken possession of the town.¹⁶ That same day at 7:00 P. M., David Spence wrote to Vallejo that Monterey had been captured by the naval forces of the United States. The message was relayed from Santa Clara to Sonoma by an old Indian, Manuel Marcelo, who had been one of Vallejo's soldiers years before. Marcelo reached Sonoma late on October 22, exhausted by his ride and scarcely able to speak. From a red bandanna about his forehead he produced the crumpled letter.

The news caused Vallejo considerable uneasiness. To Salvador Vallejo and Chief Solano, then training a force of Indians at Huichica for an Indian campaign, he sent a call and ordered all military commanders in Northern California to assemble their forces at San Francisco with all haste, where he would join them.¹⁷ He also issued a bombastic proclamation calling upon the people to reject such allurements as had been held out in Jones's proclamation of October 19, and to take up arms for their country.

Vallejo was about to start for San Francisco, when another message came from Captain Mariano Silva, stating that Commodore Jones had returned Monterey to him with all the necessary apologies and salutes. This message was followed by one from Alvarado, giving the same news and enclosing Jones's letter to him.¹⁸ Alvarado wrote again on October 30, 1842, forwarding Vallejo some letters from Governor Micheltorena, and giving him the news up to then. So far all was quiet, he reported, and Jones was putting himself out to give a thousand satisfactions for the violence he had committed without orders, but his conduct had inspired only distrust.¹⁹ In later years Vallejo said that Captain Silva's report on the restoration of Monterey convinced him that their poor country was at the mercy of the first adventurer who might wish to capture its ports.²⁰

Upon hearing the news of Jones's occupation of Monterey while at San Fernando, Micheltorena also wrote Vallejo that it was impossible to defend Monterey but urged him to incite the people to patriotism, especially those who could bear arms.

On November 19, 1842, Vallejo told Micheltorena that the Sonoma garrison consisted of a small troop of cavalry and a picket of artillery. The garrison on the frontier was having a very difficult time to subsist because the treasury

contributed nothing for their maintenance; therefore, he had been forced to provide the necessities and pay the expenses out of his own income. He urged Micheltorena to relieve him of that financial burden and responsibility by providing funds and supplies with which to pay and feed the troops, otherwise he would be forced to discharge them from the service since he could no longer bear the financial burden.²¹

Micheltorena answered Vallejo on December 2, 1842, saying that he was satisfied with his reasons for not joining him in the south and for remaining in Sonoma, and that he should stay there to watch in case of war. The Governor had previously offended Vallejo by addressing him as lieutenant-colonel when he should have addressed him as colonel of volunteers. In this letter he used the correct title. This tickled Vallejo's vanity, and he could not pass up such a good opportunity to boast:

I believe that the improvement in his correspondence with me was due to the fact that His Excellency had already awakened to the reality of the situation and had convinced himself that the Sonoma frontier was the Egypt of the Californians and that M. G. Vallejo was the arbiter of their destinies. Meanwhile, on my part, I was doing everything in my power to leave General Micheltorena convinced that in our country there were men who knew how to uphold with decorum the dignity of republican citizens.²²

Sailing from Monterey, Commodore Jones arrived at San Francisco on December 14. While there he wrote to Vallejo, expressing a desire to visit Sonoma with some members of his staff. Vallejo was flattered to receive so distinguished a guest and sent him directions for the trip. On the day of their arrival, Vallejo dispatched soldiers and servants with horses to the Sonoma Creek landing to convey his guests to the town, but the American arrived by a different route. Jones assured Vallejo that the change was entirely accidental, due to their unfamiliarity with the sloughs and inlets of the Bay, but Leese told him later he had heard that the Americans had changed their route in order to explore more of the country, as the United States might take the territory. Vallejo, however, preferred to believe what Jones told him.

Failing to recognize Sonoma Creek, Commodore Jones and his officers entered Huichica Creek, and landed near the Huichica hills about 5:00 P. M. As they were making their way toward Sonoma they were discovered by Lieutenant Ramon Carrillo and a picket of militia, who took them as prisoners to the Indian encampment at Huichica Ranch, where Salvador Vallejo and Chief Solano were stationed. These two ordered horses and, taking personal command of the guard, conveyed the prisoners to Sonoma, where they were locked in the garrison flagroom.

About midnight an orderly aroused Colonel Vallejo to report that Solano had arrived from Huichica with a number of prisoners in strange uniforms. Alarmed at the news, Vallejo dressed hurriedly, afraid that some land expedition had entered the country with hostile intent. He buckled on his best sword and followed by his aides, Lieutenant Colonel Prudon and Lieutenant Sabas

Fernandez, hastened to the barracks. There he discovered Commodore Jones, who asked if this was the reception he had prepared for his guests. Vallejo offered his hand and made profuse apologies. Taking the Commodore's arm, he escorted the party to his home, where a fine breakfast was set before them at 2:00 A. M. After they had eaten, they were shown to their rooms and slept until seven o'clock. At eight, Vallejo paraded his troops, hoisted the colors, and fired a thirteen-gun salute in honor of the Commodore, which greatly pleased him. Jones jestingly said that if Micheltorena had been present he would have received a twenty-one gun salute, because, judging from the correspondence, the Governor considered him the ruler of the United States.

Vallejo and Jones discussed Micheltorena's character at some length. Don Guadalupe was convinced that the Commodore had judged the Governor's character aright, and said he could not help blushing when Jones referred to the Governor's pompous proclamation.

Vallejo took his guests to inspect the camp at Huichica where 1,400 Suisun Indians were assembled under his brother Salvador and Chief Solano, for training in the use of hand- and fire-arms. They arrived to find the army eating instead of drilling, and Jones was surprised to discover that there were more women than men present. Turning to Don Salvador, he asked whether the women also fought in the battles. Salvador, who was in a bad humor, replied: "Those women do not fight against the Satiyomis; but if it were a case of battling the Yankees, they would take part in the front rank, and would know how to give a good account of themselves."

Vallejo was indignant at his brother's rudeness and lost no time in giving him to understand that Commodore Jones was his friend and that he was to be treated as such.

While the Americans were conversing with Don Salvador, Ramon Carrillo approached. Jones recognized him, extended his hand pleasantly, congratulated him and then offered him a gold penknife in token of his gratitude for the manner in which he had been treated when a prisoner. Don Ramon, without understanding the words, recognized the meaning and accepted the present.

That evening, from the balcony of Vallejo's home, the American officers watched an Indian dance presented in the plaza. The following day Vallejo staged a rodeo, and another Indian dance in the evening. And the third day, Christmas, there were foot races between ten chosen Suisun and ten Caimero Indians. To the winner Vallejo gave a beautiful hunting rifle, to which Commodore Jones added a ten-dollar gold coin. That day the guests departed, Vallejo escorting them to the boat landing.

Shortly afterward, Vallejo received a courteous letter from the Commodore thanking him, on behalf of his officers and himself, for the fine hospitality received in Sonoma. The friendly terms in which his illustrious guest had couched the note made Vallejo blush for he remembered Salvador's insult. Don Guadalupe later wrote:

Any man unless he were a warrior would have trembled at hearing those words uttered by the mouth of Salvador Vallejo, a military chieftain whom all the Indians of the north looked upon with profound respect, but he [Jones] was not even frightened, because he was aware of the manner in which I watched over the safety of my guests, and he knew that while I was alive no one would be allowed to take advantage of the state of isolation in which he found himself.²³

Several days after Jones's visit to Sonoma, Vallejo repaid the call aboard the *Cyane*, anchored at Sausalito. He was received with a thirteen-gun salute as he stepped on deck, and three days later, when he departed, another thirteen-gun salute was fired.

Vallejo had a great regard for Commodore Jones. He never missed an opportunity to extol his virtues as an officer, a diplomat, and as a man. He said that during the three days Jones spent in Sonoma, he behaved in such a manner that upon departing he left a void in the hearts of their small community.²⁴

With the arrival of Governor Micheltorena in Monterey in August, 1843, Vallejo relinquished most of his military duties south of the Bay, occupying himself mainly with the management of his estates.

There was one matter which had been sadly neglected during the previous four years, that demanded Vallejo's attention early in 1843: the stealing of horses by the Indians on the frontier. Furthermore, these raiders often carried away Indian girls from the settlements and sold them to the Indians of the Sierra. The situation had become so bad by 1840, that even Sutter appealed to Vallejo for help. During the months from November, 1839, to February, 1840, General Vallejo had sent his brother José de Jesus Vallejo, Lieutenant José Martinez and Ensign Prado Mesa, to the southern San Joaquin Valley to capture the thieves and rescue stolen women and property. He had also sent Captains José Sanchez and Salvador Vallejo to the northern end of the valley for the same purpose. Those expeditions achieved some success, rescuing a number of girls and capturing fourteen thieves, among them the notorious bandit Chief Califa. During this campaign Salvador was wounded, and he became so angry that he was restrained with difficulty from executing all the prisoners on the spot.²⁵

In the spring of 1843, Vallejo sent out the final expedition against the Satiomies and other northern tribes. On March 5, 1843, Salvador Vallejo and Chief Solano I marched out from their camp at Huichica with an army of seventy cavalymen and two hundred Indians. They campaigned for three weeks in the region of Clear Lake and the present Mendocino County, going as far as Mendocino Bay and having a number of battles with the Indians. In the fiercest engagement, which took place on March 12, 1843, on an island called Moth, some 130 savages were slain. The exact location of the island is uncertain, as Salvador placed it off the coast south of Fort Bragg, but Bancroft believed it was in Clear Lake. Thereafter, until they returned to Sonoma on the 27th, they were constantly retreating, harassed by the Indians of the

Mottiyomi, Chiliyomi, Holiyomi, Hayomi, Clustinomayomi, Paquenjilayomi, Scioyomi, Supuyomi, and Tuliyomi tribes. On the return of the troops, reports of the massacre spread throughout the territory. Indignant demands were made for a public investigation. The inquiry was ordered, and it was rumored that Vallejo would lose his command. The investigation was made but it resulted in nothing. Don Guadalupe had intended to renew the campaign, but when he heard that he might be relieved he decided to keep his troops at home to defend his property in case his successor wanted to occupy the barracks. Vallejo naturally regarded all buildings and equipment at Sonoma as his own private property, for out of his own pocket he had paid all expenses on the frontier for nine years.²⁶

Vallejo also had sentimental reason for remaining at home during the spring of 1843. Señora Vallejo was about to present the master of Sonoma with another child. The expected event took place on April 29, 1843, when Doña Francisca gave birth to a boy, the fifth male child, and the eighth member of the family. Since this was the eighth child and he himself had been the eighth in his family, the infant was baptized Guadalupe Vallejo.

Horse-stealing and Indian raids did not stop immediately after the March campaign of 1843. In fact it was hinted that the raiders were aided in their activities and in finding a market for the stolen animals, by no less a person than Sutter. The evidence was so strong that Vallejo wrote the master of New Helvetia on July 26, 1843:

Since the frequent desertions of the Indians of this district to yours are a fatal and all-powerful example for others, and inasmuch as this office has definite information that several deserters are at present in hiding in your settlement with stolen horses and goods, I have ordered Lieutenant-colonel Victor Prudon to set out to capture them. He will act under the instructions you have on the subject. I strongly recommend to you for the future, not to continue to protect fugitives of any kind who present themselves in that district, but rather that you secure them to this office with the horses and other property that they may have.²⁷

This condition lasted throughout the year 1843, but by the following year a marked change took place. The American immigrants who began to arrive and settle in greater numbers in the Sacramento Valley did not like Indians. Consequently the natives soon left the valley to live in the forests and mountains. From then on, Indians played a very small part in the life and development of Sonoma.

That the northern frontier had been comparatively peaceful from 1835 on, was of course due mainly to M. G. Vallejo's Indian policy. Of it Bancroft wrote:

General Vallejo's Indian policy must be regarded as excellent and effective when compared with any other policy ever followed in California. True, his wealth, his untrammelled power, and other circumstances contributed much to his success; and he could by no means have done as well if placed in command at San Diego; yet he must be accredited besides with having managed wisely. Closely allied with Solano, the Suisun chieftain, having always—except when asked to render some distasteful military service

to his political associates in the south—at his disposal a goodly number of soldiers and citizens, he made treaties with the gentile tribes, insisted on their being liberally and justly treated when at peace, and punished them severely for any manifestation of hostility. Doubtless the Indians were wronged often enough in individual cases by Vallejo's subordinates; some of whom, and notably his brother Salvador, were with difficulty controlled; but such reports have been greatly exaggerated, and acts of glaring injustice were comparatively rare.

Vallejo's elder brother José de Jesus Vallejo made the following statement concerning the General's policy:

In the course of those nine years he went on more than a hundred campaigns against the heathen savages; and finally if one takes into consideration the fact that the secularization of the missions San Rafael and San Francisco Solano might have caused a general uprising of the Cainamero Indians . . . and many other tribes directly or indirectly allied with them, who would have liked the property of the ex-missions, as many of you as read these lines will see that my brother had reason and to spare in opposing the interference of civil authorities who had little or no knowledge of the situation.

Thomas O. Larkin added this tribute to Vallejo:

His part of California is the most free from robbery or insubordination, with more safety of life and property than any other section of California.²⁸

CHAPTER XI

VALLEJO AND OVERLAND IMMIGRANTS

THE ARRIVAL of American overland immigrants in the Sacramento Valley created a perplexing problem for the Mexican authorities in the early 1840's, especially for Vallejo. While he liked Americans individually (he had three American brothers-in-law, and all but one of his children married foreigners), he feared and did not trust them collectively. He was sure that within a few years, if prompt measures were not taken, the Americans would possess themselves of the country; an outcome he was determined to prevent if possible. When Americans began to arrive in ever-increasing numbers after 1841, he became thoroughly convinced that in this immigration lay the greatest danger to Mexican sovereignty.

Leading newspapers of the United States stated openly that the movement was a step toward the inevitable acquisition of California. Mexican diplomats in the United States sent reports and clippings to Mexico, and as a result the Mexican Government published notices throughout the United States that any person going to California without Mexican consent and a proper passport, did so at his peril. In May, Minister of War Almonte wrote to Vallejo and Alvarado, inclosing clippings and copies of the instructions sent to the United States, that no foreign immigrants lacking legal passports should be permitted to remain in the country, and that even old settlers must leave unless they procured the documents required by law.¹ But the people of California were well disposed toward foreigners, and the authorities treated them much more leniently than the spirit of the laws permitted. There was very

little change from that policy even after the strict orders arrived from Mexico and notwithstanding the danger of American encroachment.

Vallejo was torn between his duty and the fear of the seizure of California on the one hand, and his desire to see California prosper through an increase in population and the development of its natural resources on the other. There was little he could do, except to write long reports to Mexico expressing his misgivings and asking for a large force with which to carry out the orders from the Government. Meanwhile he treated the newcomers with kindness and waited with resignation for the approaching conquest.

Upon the arrival of the Bartleson immigrant party in November, 1841, fifteen of them were arrested as a formality by Sub-prefect Suñol at San José and lodged in the calaboose. All claimed total ignorance of any passport requirements, and on Vallejo's instruction they were treated with kindness and brought before him at Mission San José. He found that they had been lured to California by letters from John Marsh, then living north of Mount Diablo, and at whose ranch the remainder of the company were stopping. Vallejo wrote to Marsh on November 11, 1841, ordering him to appear at San José to give an account of his conduct. When Marsh arrived, Vallejo decided to grant the visitors temporary passports until they could take the proper steps to legalize their residence. He also induced several well-known citizens to become the immigrants' bondsmen, and Marsh himself gave Vallejo a letter of security for fifteen members of the party. In later years all stated that the Californians had treated them with great consideration. Vallejo took great pains to explain the laws under which he was forced to act, and he even sent five of the immigrants to Sonoma to settle there.²

About the same time that the Bartleson party arrived in San José, another party of twenty-five immigrants arrived in Los Angeles from New Mexico. In fact, so concerned was Alvarado over the coming of this William Workman-John Rowland party that he requested José Castro not to go to Mexico as Vallejo's commissioner, because he might be needed at home for some emergency.

When Micheltorena took over the government in 1842, he found the treasury empty. Unable to pay his troops or officials, he had to beg and borrow from the wealthy ranchers and merchants of the territory. One of the hardest hit was Vallejo. During the early months of 1843, Micheltorena repeatedly appealed to him for supplies and just as often was told by Vallejo that he had none and that he found it impossible to continue to support the garrison at Sonoma at his own expense. Vallejo also asked to be relieved from command of the northern line, for he hoped thus to save himself the responsibility and expense of maintaining his own troops, of feeding the Governor's army, and of dealing with incoming foreigners. Micheltorena, however, insisted that Vallejo should continue at his post.³

In February, 1843, Vallejo heard rumors that the Governor doubted that

he supported the Sonoma troops, and that he might be removed from his command. He accordingly wrote several sharp letters to Micheltorena, sending proof of his expenditures and again offering his resignation. In answer the Governor assured him of his high regard, denied that he had doubted his word, and asked Vallejo not to deprive the country of his valuable services. This flattery placated Vallejo, and in recognition of his claims for about 11,000 pesos of supplies furnished the Government, he received the grant of the Soscol ranch situated in the lower Napa Valley, which included the site of the present city of Vallejo. In return, Vallejo sent the *California* to San Pedro in June, loaded with provisions for the Governor's army, with a certain sum of money, which was just what Micheltorena wanted.⁴

Micheltorena marched his rag-tag army to Monterey, where he established his capital on August 13, 1843. No sooner had he arrived than rumors of a revolutionary plot were heard throughout the north. On August 14, Vallejo announced the discovery of a plot and ordered some documents seized from Juan Padilla, at San José. There were other discoveries elsewhere, but nothing came of it. Vallejo did not attend the Governor's reception, but sent his brother Salvador on September 4, with letters explaining the situation on the frontier and inviting Micheltorena to Sonoma.⁵ His Excellency, however, was too busy trying to make financial ends meet, to be interested in pleasure trips. To solve the difficult problem he called an economic conference to meet at Monterey early in October. Vallejo went to the capital and on October 9 met with sixteen other officials to discuss ways and means. The Governor presided and explained the object of the meeting. Vallejo was chosen secretary, and with six others was appointed as a committee to report in four days on a plan to reduce expenses. By lowering the salaries of all civil officials the civil budget was reduced by 34,350 pesos, and by cutting officers' pay a saving of some 10,000 pesos in the military budget was effected. When the conference adjourned, governmental expenses had been cut almost in half.⁶

During the spring of 1843, Vallejo was involved in a controversy with the Church over the payments of tithes. Bishop Francisco Garcia Diego, appointed late in 1841, had established his episcopal see at Santa Barbara. He soon discovered that money from the Pious Fund and from Mexico was not forthcoming and that he had to rely upon local tithes, payment of which was supposed to be voluntary. By 1843, many persons, especially those in Northern California, refused to pay the *diezimo* or tenth, demanded of them. Vallejo flatly refused to pay and entered into a verbal and written controversy with Father Mercado, the collector, over the matter. He declared that for years he had supported the church at Sonoma; that he would contribute still more liberally for the purpose of establishing new missions on the frontier; but that he would never recognize the right of the bishop to tax him a tenth of his property, to be spent on impractical and profitless episcopal schemes. The heads of the church were angered by Vallejo's response and there was talk

of excommunication, but there the matter ended. This threat was held over the heads of others not so well situated, with good results, although some followed Vallejo's example and refused to pay. José Sanchez of San Francisco was refused the rites of the Church on his death-bed because of his refusal to pay tithes, and for a time his body was not given Christian burial on that account.⁷

The stream of American immigration into California, though somewhat diminished by the efforts of the Mexican minister Almonte in Washington, who was publishing the fact that they were not welcome in California, nevertheless continued to trickle in. But notwithstanding the decrees of the Mexican Government,⁸ all foreigners were welcomed in California and treated with uniform kindness by the people and authorities, and the latter readily granted lands to the newcomers and made it easy for them to settle. Occasional rumors spread, nevertheless, that all Americans were to be expelled, which caused much concern among the more timid immigrants.

In spite of all his kindness to foreigners, Vallejo continued to express his fears of them. On May 19, 1843, he wrote to the Governor that there was a constant tendency on the part of Americans to raise questions against the country's authorities. They always ignored the Mexican side of the case, revived questions already settled, presented accusations against the Supreme Government, and made absurd demands. However, he always treated them frankly and hospitably, and more leniently than natives.⁹

During the summer of 1843, Vallejo had a considerable controversy with Sutter over the former's jurisdiction in the Sacramento Valley. Sutter was inclined to consider Vallejo as interfering in his private affairs, while Don Guadalupe thought that the Captain was prone to protect deserters and horse-thieves. After considerable correspondence with Sutter, Vallejo wrote to Micheltorena enquiring as to just what authority and jurisdiction Sutter had. The reply was that he had been invested with local civil authority. All this came about because Sutter had given passports to the members of the Hastings party recently arrived from Oregon.¹⁰

The year 1844 had just begun, and only ten months had elapsed since the birth of the baby Guadalupe, when the Vallejo family made preparations to welcome another member. The birth of the new child took place on February 23, 1844. The fourth daughter was named Jovita Francisca, the second name for her mother.

The older girls and boys were growing up and their education had to be considered. Captain Stephen Smith on one of his voyages bought three pianos in Baltimore and brought them to California in March, 1843. These three were the first pianos introduced into California. One was sold to José Abrego in Monterey, another to Eulogio Célis in San Pedro, and the third to M. G. Vallejo who shipped it to Sonoma. It was upon this instrument that his children were to receive their musical training.¹¹

Early in the spring of 1844, Micheltorena, still hard-pressed for money, sent Manuel Castaños, custom-house administrator, to plead with Vallejo for a loan. Vallejo was inclined to refuse, but finally advanced 2,000 pesos in gold coin. For this loan Micheltorena gave him, in June, 1844, a grant of some 35,000 acres of land, lying northeast of his Petaluma ranch and including a large portion of the upper Petaluma Valley.¹²

During the summer of 1844, Micheltorena learned from Mexico that the United States and Texas had signed a treaty of annexation. The news was published by the Governor in July, and steps were taken to place California on a war footing. All citizens between the ages of fifteen and sixty years, including naturalized foreigners, were enlisted in two regiments of militia. The second regiment with headquarters at Sonoma, was commanded by M. G. Vallejo. About 1,000 men were enrolled, but by September the danger had passed.¹³

About this time the Kelsey party of thirty-six immigrants arrived at Sutter's Fort from Oregon. Among its members who settled in and about Sonoma were Henry Fowler, William Fowler, William Hargrave, Andrew Kelsey, Benjamin Kelsey, David Kelsey, Samuel Kelsey, and Granville P. Swift.

Soon after the Kelsey party arrived, Dr. Edward Turner Bale, who had lived at Sonoma for some years, tried to murder Salvador Vallejo. Dr. Bale was married to a niece of Salvador Vallejo and lived with the latter's family. One day in June the Doctor was caught spreading rumors which cast doubt on Don Salvador's veracity. Salvador had him publicly flogged and Bale left Sonoma for a time. Several weeks later, as Salvador was walking across the plaza with Don Cayetano Suarez, they were suddenly attacked from behind by Bale. The Doctor had ridden into town a short time before in company with fourteen American friends, fully armed and intending to kill Salvador. As Bale rode up to his intended victim he fired two shots, one of which grazed Don Salvador's neck and the other wounded Suarez in the left jaw, but before Bale could shoot again, a number of spectators rushed to the aid of the wounded men. Bale and his companions, noting the angry temper of the assembling crowd, fled across the plaza to the home of Jacob P. Leese, the alcalde, and sought protection.

When Chief Solano heard of the attempted murder, he assembled some fifty of his bravest Indians and demanded the criminal. They broke down the door, rushed upstairs and dragged Bale outside, tied him hand and foot, and started for an oak tree known as the "punishment tree," where they proposed to hang him. Don Guadalupe stopped the proceedings and demanded the surrender of the prisoner to him for proper legal punishment. Solano and his Indians gave up Bale on Vallejo's promise that he would be punished.

The case was reported to the Governor at once. Victor Prudon was appointed prosecutor, a trial was held and Bale was found guilty, but some days later the Governor ordered Vallejo to set him free. Don Guadalupe protested,

but Micheltorena said that he feared trouble with Britain, and so Vallejo had Bale liberated, and asked Salvador to escort the Doctor to Huichica. Salvador did so, and on parting told Bale that he was free but that some day he would avenge the attempted crime. Whereupon Bale knelt and asked his uncle-in-law's forgiveness. The two then embraced and the incident was closed.

Another group of immigrants arrived in November and December, 1844: some sixty-five men, women and children, led by Elisha Stevens, came from the East over Yuba Pass. Sutter gave them the necessary passports and entered into correspondence with Vallejo, who was somewhat worried over the situation.¹⁴

On November 14 and 15, a revolt broke out against the Governor in the Salinas Valley, during which all army horses were driven away. One hundred of those horses had been bought from Vallejo in September at 50 pesos each.¹⁵ The revolt spread, and José Castro and Juan B. Alvarado became its leaders. Earlier, Alvarado had visited Sonoma, probably to sound Vallejo's views, but returned without definite results.

On November 18, Vallejo heard of the uprising and wrote to the Governor that in his belief the only ill-feeling of the Californians was directed against the convict troops, and suggested that both he and the country would benefit if they were sent back to Mexico. Vallejo promised to defend the Governor in his authority if he were threatened after the departure of the troops.¹⁶ On the 20th of November Alvarado wrote to Vallejo, giving him a detailed account of the revolt and begging him to support it in person or else send Salvador with horses and supplies. Don Guadalupe dispatched Salvador to interview Alvarado. There were fourteen points on which he wanted data by which to plot his course in accordance with honor, duty, and patriotism.¹⁷

Vallejo was in a difficult position. He was torn between his duty as a Mexican officer to support his superior and the call of his friends and relatives to aid them in ridding California of a band of criminals. If he did not support the Governor he would be considered a traitor. As a native Californian he could not fight against his family and his friends. He finally decided to remain neutral, giving the following reasons for his actions: first, he believed that if Micheltorena found himself without support he would resign to avert a civil war; second, if he (Vallejo) left Sonoma to engage in a campaign against the rebels, he would necessarily leave his family unprotected and in want, because the Governor did not have money enough to provide rations for his troops. Furthermore, he probably would have had to shoulder all the expenses of the campaign. Finally, since the Governor's troops were composed of convicts, he did not consider it proper to support a party which countenanced such wicked men. Therefore, on November 28, 1844, he discharged his Sonoma forces to avoid obeying orders to send reinforcements. To Micheltorena he wrote that same day that he had disbanded his troops because he could sup-

port them no longer. The men were left free to gain a living as best they could.¹⁸ Some of them no doubt joined the rebels.

Notwithstanding his resolution of neutrality, Vallejo retained his military commission and post. It never seems to have occurred to him that so long as he did not resign his office he could not be neutral. If he really had wanted to be neutral, the honorable course for him to have followed would have been to resign from the army and retire as a private citizen.

Early in December, after Castro and Alvarado had signed a treaty with Micheltorena, fearing that the Governor would not keep its terms, they asked Vallejo to meet them at San Pablo. At this conference they gave Vallejo a detailed account of the revolt and he told them that he would join the revolution on condition that he be given supreme command of the rebel army, and that the fight would not end until the convict troops had been driven from California. Castro replied that all they wanted was his advice, a guarantee of a refuge under certain conditions, and a letter written by him to Micheltorena, which they would dictate; this last to be delivered by James A. Forbes who was in league with them. Vallejo refused, and returned to Sonoma more convinced than ever that he should remain neutral. However, he did write to the Governor, but not in the vein his friends had anticipated. He reported the condition of affairs and urged Micheltorena to observe the treaty and to prevent the foreigners from interfering in domestic matters.¹⁹

Vallejo, perhaps, was one of the few important Californians who from an impersonal motive was concerned about the participation of the foreigners in the revolution. Micheltorena wanted them on his side in order to strengthen his forces so that he might win. Alvarado and Castro, though fearing them from previous experience, nevertheless were willing to enlist them if they could be had, since it meant winning the revolution. Vallejo, on his part, feared them on either side, because he realized that once in advantageous positions it might not be easy to break the foreigners' hold on the government. He therefore urged Micheltorena, Alvarado and Castro not to enlist foreigners in their ranks, and he particularly took exception to Sutter's activities in forming a foreign legion to serve in the Governor's army. Among the old time foreigners of Monterey, such as Larkin, Spence, Spear, and others, there was considerable opposition to foreign participation in the revolt or on behalf of the government. Therefore, they directed their energies to opposing Sutter's plans and to persuading their friends and the new arrivals not to meddle in quarrels that did not concern them.²⁰

It happened that when the order came from Mexico to repel American invasion in the summer of 1844, a company of militia was to be formed at New Helvetia under Captain Sutter. He soon notified Micheltorena that the company was ready to defend the Fatherland. In October, Sutter and Bidwell went to Monterey. At San José, Forbes told them of the revolt then being planned; of this they warned the Governor. Micheltorena then made a con-

tract with Sutter by which he was to grant Sutter more land for assistance rendered when called upon. Sutter returned home by water and at once began to prepare for a campaign. Meanwhile, Micheltorena sent all Americans assurances of his friendship. From San José, Alvarado and Castro also sent Sutter friendly messages.²¹

Early in December, Sutter sent a call to all foreigners in the north asking them to join in aiding the Governor. Vallejo heard of it and on December 13 wrote to Sutter. He said that in view of Sutter's letter to foreigners, it was his duty to point out that the country was at peace, and that rebellion existed only in Sutter's fevered imagination. The Governor had agreed to return his "Pretorian Guard" to Mexico and everything was settled satisfactorily. Therefore, Sutter must not presume to break the agreement and the peace by his activities, working from a false premise.²²

Sutter replied to Vallejo on December 17, saying that he had sent Wyman and Coon to San Rafael to notify all foreigners and citizens favoring the Government, to assemble at Sutter's Fort, so as to march from there under Vallejo's command to protect the Governor. He wrote to Jaspar O'Farrell that in case the men had no horses he should give them some from the government ranch. But since O'Farrell would not deliver horses without Vallejo's order, he begged the latter to issue the order. He also said that the horses belonging to Vallejo and other individuals, taken by mistake by his men, had been returned to Vallejo's soldiers. Since his men had no horses, Vallejo could do him a great favor by giving him a hundred horses from the many he possessed. In return, Sutter offered him the use of his vessel and his men any time Vallejo called for their service. Besides offering the services of his soldiers to Vallejo, Sutter gave him information of the companies of foreign immigrants who had arrived and those who were still on the way. One of these companies, led by Captain Hastings and consisting of sixty wagons, was due very soon.²³

Sutter wrote to Vallejo again on the 17th, in reply to a letter from the latter of December 15, in which he had sent Sutter a copy of the treaty of Santa Teresa. With the treaty went an admonition that there was no trouble, and if there were, he (Vallejo) would be the first to go to the Governor's aid. Sutter replied that he was grateful for being saved from making an unnecessary expedition; nevertheless, he had information that Castro and Alvarado were plotting trouble, and that they wanted to deport the Governor. He wanted to know why Castro continued to assemble men at San José and suggested that Vallejo was ignorant of the plots Castro and Alvarado had formed. As he himself was thoroughly convinced, he proposed to march to protect the peace and the Governor. He closed by offering Vallejo the services of his forces.²⁴

On December 18, 1844, Vallejo forcefully remonstrated with Sutter about the legality and advisability of marching his foreign troops to Monterey.

He asked him to ponder over the consequences of his act, which might compromise the Governor, the Californians, and also the foreigners also. It might also happen that the results would be very different from what he expected. He might bring upon himself the curses of the natives, or bring suffering to the foreigners. Furthermore, the strangers had no right to intervene in a domestic matter between the government and the people. What right had they to decide for the Californians? Such meddling would do more to cause trouble than to bring peace. Vallejo was sure there was no plot, and he ignored Sutter's reasons for saying so. Sutter's object might be laudable in itself, but his foreign troops would only encourage the Governor falsely. It might lead him to arbitrary acts, and it would be very repugnant to see the Governor at the head of a band of foreigners devastating the towns. As a friend, Vallejo did not like to see Sutter compromised thus. He said that Sutter had complicated the matter and unthinkingly had branded as rebels a multitude of citizens who were complaining in good faith to have the government right their wrongs. Vallejo decided to close the correspondence on the subject; but if Sutter really wanted to aid Micheltorena, he should send him money and all other supplies so that the Governor might break his solemn word. He added that the foreigners had been scandalously protected since the arrival of Governor Micheltorena, even against the wishes of the National Government, so the foreigners had no complaints to make. The Governor had violated the law by granting land to non-citizens, and the time would come when he would have to answer for it to the Supreme Government. Vallejo declined with thanks Sutter's offer of his armed forces, saying that though he had none of his own, nevertheless he had never wanted any foreigner to help him against his government, and much less against the Californians who were his friends. If he ever used such a force he would be a traitor to his beliefs, his government, his countrymen, and would deserve the reproaches which he had mentioned. If Sutter was bound to Micheltorena, in arming foreigners against the country in which he lived and sought his fortunes, he would do well to think it over well, because the responsibilities of it were bound to overtake him sometime.²⁵

This appeal did not reach the foreigners as a class, upon many of whom its arguments and force would have made an impression. It had no effect whatever on Sutter, who went on with his preparations. He sent his agents all over the northern frontier in quest of supplies and horses. On December 22, he sent a party of twenty Americans to Vallejo's Soscol ranch to take the government horses, which Antonio Rico had removed from there several days before. They attacked the ranch, which was undefended, shot a cow and ate it, then took all of Vallejo's horses which happened to be in the vicinity and drove them to New Helvetia. Vallejo became indignant at this theft, and decided to punish the foreigners. He called a meeting at Sonoma at which Alcalde Leese was present. Vallejo asked him to aid him with some men in order to protect

the common security and recover the stolen property. Leese replied that he had no more men for that purpose.²⁶

Evidently Vallejo and Leese were not getting along very well at that time, for it seems strange that Leese would not help his brother-in-law. He relented the next day, however, and in a short note to Vallejo, offered to go to Sacramento to take Vallejo's letter to Sutter with an inventory of the horses and saddles taken, and to demand their return.²⁷ Leese went to New Helvetia but there fell under Sutter's influence and returned empty handed, much to Vallejo's disgust.

That Vallejo did not trust Leese is evident by what he wrote at the time he went to San Pablo to meet Castro and Alvarado, for he cut the meeting short in order to return to Sonoma. He said: "I was ready to return to Sonoma where my presence was urgently needed in order to counteract the aims of certain emissaries who had crossed the bay in a launch owned by my brother-in-law Jacob P. Leese, who was somewhat compromised with Captain John A. Sutter."²⁸

Sutter paid no attention to Vallejo's protests and sent his men to get horses at Petaluma, threatening even to attack Sonoma, and talking freely about capturing Castro and Alvarado dead or alive. While thus engaged, and at the very time he was sending the party to raid Soscol ranch, on December 21, he wrote Vallejo another letter. He said that the foreigners were friendly and harmless, that there was no need to worry about them, and that there was no occasion for him to use the very strong expressions against them that Vallejo had used. Some of the foreigners felt insulted over such statements and complained of Vallejo's actions and law enforcement.²⁹ Vallejo received it at the time he heard about the raid on his property, and replied rather angrily in the letter that Leese took to New Helvetia on December 24.³⁰

In this controversy of words with Sutter, Vallejo had every law and right on his side. There was not the slightest reason why foreign non-citizens should take part in California's political controversies which in no way concerned them. Their only reason for so doing was that they wanted to make trouble, and Vallejo was justified in fearing and resenting their intrusion. After the 24th, Vallejo did not write again to Sutter, but remained quietly at Sonoma watching the operations of the new revolution which broke out against Micheltorena early in January, 1845. There was some alarm felt at Sonoma soon after Sutter and Micheltorena set out for the south. A rumor spread that Sutter had detached a part of his force to return and ravish the northern frontier. Vallejo for some reason gave credit to the report, and busied himself in preparations for defense until he received a letter from A. M. Osio at Yerba Buena saying that there was no truth in the rumor.³¹

On February 5, 1845, Mrs. Vallejo gave birth to a baby boy. This time Don Guadalupe chose a strange name for the new son, who was baptized Uladislao E. Vallejo, and who was the tenth child in the family.

Although Vallejo took no part in the revolt, after Micheltorena was defeated, Castro as general and Pio Pico as governor decided to retain Vallejo as commander of the northern lines from Sonoma to Santa Inés. Thus he was still on the winning side. In fact, he was so well thought of by the revolutionary party that the legislative assembly selected Vallejo as one of the five candidates from which the National Government should select a governor for California. The list of candidates in order of preference, drawn up on June 27, 1845, was: Pio Pico, Juan Bandini, M. G. Vallejo, José de la Guerra, and Antonio M. Osio. Pio Pico was selected.³²

During 1845, Vallejo brought a suit against the Government for 5,600 pesos, which were due him as a military officer, and for over 6,000 pesos for goods and other supplies advanced. Of these amounts he collected only a small part.³³

If Vallejo's concern over the number of immigrants of 1844 was great, his worries grew immeasurably greater when the number of arrivals tripled in 1845. The first of the groups to come was one from Oregon with forty-three members, including one woman and three children, led by Green McMahon and James Clyman.

The second company was the Swasey-Todd company of some thirteen young men with a pack-train which crossed the Sierra and arrived at New Helvetia on September 27, 1845. The third party of the year, consisting of fifteen men, was led by William Sublette, who reached Sutter's Fort on October 5, 1845. Three weeks later John Grigsby and William B. Ide came with the fourth and much larger group, which traveled in wagons and numbered some fifty men, with as many more women and children. Some twenty members of this party settled in and around Sonoma in November.

The 10th of December saw the arrival of Captain John C. Frémont and his company. This exploring party, semi-military in form, crossed the Sierra with some sixty members, and because of the prominent part it was to play in Californian affairs was the most important group yet to reach California.

The sixth and last 1845 immigrant party was that of Langsford W. Hastings. This small group of only ten men arrived at Sutter's Fort on December 25. Besides these overland immigrants, a number of newcomers had arrived by sea. All told, the year 1845 brought some 420 foreigners to California, most of them American.³⁴ These men were to end an era in California history in which Vallejo had grown rich and powerful. They were the heralds of a new epoch, during which Don Guadalupe's power was to wane, his wealth was to diminish, and he was to pass away almost forgotten.

Notwithstanding the bitter feeling that existed in Mexico against Americans, the expectations of hostilities, the warlike nature of the orders sent to California and the preparations carried on here, the immigrants from the United States were received with the greatest hospitality and kindness, not only by private individuals but by the government officials as well. On the

other hand, in spite of the fact that most of them entered the country illegally, the foreigners were not backward in proclaiming their disregard and contempt for all Mexican formalities of law and for the people as well. These ignorant Americans circulated among themselves and believed all kinds of stupid rumors that the Californians were going to oppress the foreigners. Led by men who desired an outbreak, the immigrants found it impossible to understand that the Mexicans had any rights in their own country. A common remark among them was, "the Spaniards are becoming troublesome!" whenever they were called on to observe the laws. It was this attitude of ingratitude and disdain that made Vallejo burn with indignation as he penned his long letters of warning to the Mexican Government.

On September 12, 1845, there arrived from Mexico more positive news of impending war, and a direct and very proper order that the entry of Americans from Oregon and Missouri must be stopped. Governor Pico published the order and it was called to the special attention of both Castro and Vallejo, but no attempt was made to enforce it. When General Castro and Andrés Castillero visited Sutter's Fort in November they summoned the immigrants to appear before them. When asked for their passports, they replied they had none because they had set out for Oregon where they were unnecessary. Castro read them the order of July 10, to which they answered that it was impossible at this time to return to Oregon because of the snow. They promised to submit to the laws in all respects if allowed to remain, and to leave in the spring if their petitions to settle were not granted. Castro allowed them to stay on condition that they would assemble at Sonoma under the vigilance of Vallejo, obey the laws, give bonds for good behavior, and apply within three months for permission to remain. They accepted the conditions and many complied within a month. This procedure was repeated at several places from Sonoma to Sutter's Fort.³⁶

During 1845 Sutter gave the authorities considerable trouble by granting large tracts of land in the Valley to foreigners. Vallejo complained bitterly of such actions because it was dangerous to the safety of the territory.³⁷ Castro visited Sutter's Fort with the idea of buying out Sutter's properties as a means of ending the menace of the immigrants. But Sutter wanted 100,000 pesos, which was more than the Government would or could pay. The Russians to whom Sutter still owed 30,000 pesos, offered to sell to Mexico their mortgage on his holdings as a means of getting rid of him. The Government had this plan under consideration in 1846, when the war broke out.³⁸

While these negotiations for Sutter's Fort were in progress, Vallejo wrote to Former President Bustamante, of Mexico, giving what was undoubtedly his sincere personal opinion of the American menace. In it Vallejo complained of Sutter's action in granting immense areas of the most valuable lands to American immigrants and stated that so many of them had settled on the Sacramento River and its tributaries that a large part of it had become known

as the "River of the Americans." He had received repeated instructions from the Minister of War and Marine to fortify that part of the Department, but he had neither money nor soldiers with which to do this.

The emigration of North Americans to California today forms an unbroken line of wagons from the United States clear to this Department, and how can they be turned back without forces and resources? It is necessary, sir, it is indispensable that the Supreme Government should send us both. This has been for some years my incessant supplication. Troops and money! because the first without the second is useless, and only by uniting both can they save us from the imminent danger that surrounds us. I understand *troops* to mean defenders of the public rights and not aggressors against private property.

I see with regret what I predicted to the National Government more than eight years ago gradually coming true. The stream of Americans then was only *considerable*, and today it is *frightful*.³⁹

This seems to be conclusive evidence that at that late date he was not the friend of American annexation he later claimed to be. Had he really desired it, he would not have taken such great pains to dwell upon its dangers every time he wrote official or private letters to Mexico.

During the early part of 1846, Vallejo was at Sonoma. He took no part in the political quarrels between General Castro and Governor Pico. He attended to his own affairs on the frontier and kept a watchful eye on Sutter's activities. On November 10, 1845, Sutter notified Vallejo that Captain Frémont had arrived with a small party and was to pass the winter in California.⁴⁰

Frémont moved into the vicinity of Monterey on March 3, and camped on the Salinas River on March 4. From there he was ordered by General Castro to leave the territory. Frémont refused to do so and fortified himself at the top of Gavilan Peak, from the 6th to the 9th, and there defied the Californians. On March 10, he abandoned his fort and retreated to the San Joaquin Valley.

Great was Vallejo's surprise to receive a note on March 12, from Subprefect Francisco Guerrero, of San Francisco, dated March 11, giving the news of Frémont's raising the American flag over his Gavilan fort. On March 14, Guerrero again wrote to Vallejo, notifying him that Frémont had departed. That same day, Vallejo issued a proclamation to the people of California in which he said that Frémont had raised the American flag; therefore he called on all who considered themselves Mexicans to lend their aid against the invaders. Only the aged and children were excepted. Those who failed to accept military service were to be branded as infamous and traitors to the fatherland for closing their eyes to the dangers which menaced the nation.⁴¹

On March 16, 1846, General Castro summoned Vallejo to a military assembly at Monterey. Vallejo arrived at the capital on March 28. After long debates the council decided: first, that Castro must remain in the north, and the towns must be fortified and defended; second, Governor Pico should be invited to Monterey to help save the territory; third, if Pico did not come, General Castro was to act as seemed best and he was to establish his head-

quarters at Santa Clara; fourth, these arrangements were to continue until orders and aid arrived from Mexico.⁴²

It was at a session of this group that Vallejo claimed to have made his famous speech in favor of annexing California to the United States. There has been much speculation as to whether the speech was ever delivered, but on taking all evidence into account it must be concluded with Bancroft, that that particular speech was a child of Vallejo's imagination.⁴³

Sometime after Vallejo returned to Sonoma from Monterey, perhaps in May, he received a letter from Pablo de la Guerra who was an advocate of absolute independence for California. After outlining the situation in the territory, he asked Vallejo which he would support, Castro's idea of a French protectorate, Pico's party in favor of England, or absolute independence. On the margin of this letter Vallejo wrote that he had replied that it was preferable for the Californians to be annexed to the United States rather than to be ruled by lords fifteen thousand miles away.⁴⁴ This seems to be the only instance, in all his vast correspondence, where Vallejo expressed his preference in writing, and here he did so only indirectly.

While Vallejo was peacefully resting at home after his return from Monterey early in May, 1846, General Castro at his headquarters at Santa Clara was busily preparing for his war against Governor Pico and perhaps against an American invasion of Northern California by Frémont or other forces. To do so he needed horses and supplies. Early in June he crossed the Bay to San Rafael, and on June 5, visited Sonoma in company with Lieutenant Francisco Arce, to solicit the needed supplies from Vallejo. At San Rafael, Castro obtained from Timothy Murphy two hundred horses belonging to the Indians, and the Mission San Rafael gave him one hundred more, while from Vallejo he received supplies, and six guns and fourteen rounds of ammunition for each, to arm the six men guarding the horses sent to Santa Clara by way of the Sacramento Valley, under Lieutenant Arce.⁴⁵

In spite of all the military activities going on elsewhere in the territory, Vallejo had not seen fit to reenlist his former soldiers. If he was to remain neutral in the coming civil war, he could not afford to have an army. Much was written in later years about the stronghold at Sonoma, of a fort, of a garrison and stores of arms and ammunition. Those statements, however, were untrue. It is true that there were there some nine small, old brass cannons, mostly unserviceable, and some two hundred muskets, shopworn and out of repair, with a small quantity of ammunition, too old to be of much account. This was Sonoma's military strength on the night of June 13, 1846. The fact is that on that fateful night, Sonoma and the Vallejo household went to sleep with only two aged Indians and an old dog to keep watch over them.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

1. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 122-50.

2. W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, pp. 87-88.

3. J. Douglas to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Feb. 15, Mar. 1, Mar. 11, 1841, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, X, 57, 77, 81.
4. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, Philadelphia, 1850, V, 196-98.
5. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 244-59.
6. E. Dufлот de Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon*, I, 324-25, 446-47.
7. Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World During the Years 1841 and 1842*, I, 307-8.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-12.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 320-21.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
14. M. Micheltorena to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, Oct. 6, 1842, Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, MS, II, 35-36.
15. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Oct. 15, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 273.
16. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 298-329. This chapter gives full details of the entire episode.
17. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 297-99; M. G. Vallejo, proclamation to people of Sonoma, Sonoma, Oct. 24, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XIV, 35.
18. P. Mesa to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Oct. 22, 1842; Com. Thomas Ap C. Jones, proclamation to Californians, Monterey, Oct. 19, 1842; M. Silva to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Oct. 21, 22, 1842; J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Oct. 23, 1842; Com. T. C. Jones to J. B. Alvarado and M. Silva, Monterey, Oct. 21, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283.
19. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Alisal, Oct. 30, 1842, *ibid.*, XI, 286.
20. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 300-1.
21. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Nov. 6, 19, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 290, 300, 308; also Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 308-9.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-11.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 343.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 325-45.
25. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XXXIII, 343; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 357-60; Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, MS, III, 31; Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, Custom House, V, 10.
26. S. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo, Mendocino, Mar. 13, 1843, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 342; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Apr. 1, 1843, *ibid.*, pp. 354, 361; M. Micheltorena to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, Apr. 26, 1843, *ibid.*, p. 366; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 361-63; Marion L. Lothrop, "The Indian Campaigns of M. G. Vallejo," in *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, IX, No. 3, Sept., 1932, 192-205.
27. Lothrop, *ibid.*, p. 194.
28. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 70-71; also Lothrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-5.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

1. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 271-73; Min. Almonte to M. G. Vallejo, Mexico, May 20, 1841, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, X, 146; Sup. Govt. to J. B. Alvarado, Mexico, May 20, 1841, Sup. Govt. St. Pap., MS, XVI, 20.
2. M. G. Vallejo to J. Marsh, San José, Nov. 11, 1841; M. G. Vallejo to A. Suñol, San José, Nov. 13, 1841; J. Marsh to M. G. Vallejo, San José, Nov. 13, 1841; M. G. Vallejo to I. Alviso, San José, Nov. 17, 1841; T. Brown to M. G. Vallejo, San José, Nov. 18, 1841; J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Dec. 8, 1841; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, X, 335, 339, 340, 350, 355, 375.
3. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XI, 344, 365; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Apr. 1, May 19, 1843, *ibid.*, 355, 377.

4. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Apr. 1, May 19, 1843, *ibid.*, XI, 356, 371; M. Micheltorena to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, Apr. 25, 1843, *ibid.*, XI, 365; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 350-53.

5. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Sept. 4, 1843, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XI, 445, 446; M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Aug. 14, 1843, *ibid.*, 442; J. J. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo, Aug. 19, 1843, *ibid.*, 444.

6. *Junta consultativa y economica en Monterey*, Oct., 1843, MS, Bancroft Library; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 379-82.

7. Fr. F. Mercado to M. G. Vallejo, Sonoma, Mar. 15, 19, 1843, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 347, 349; M. G. Vallejo to Fr. Mercado, Sonoma, Mar. 18, 19, 1843, *ibid.*, 348, 350; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 70-80.

8. In the hope of stopping entirely the influx of Americans, on July 14, 1843, President Santa Ana issued an order to the governors of California, Chihuahua, Sonora and Sinaloa, prohibiting the citizens of the United States to reside in their departments, but this created such a diplomatic storm that the Mexican Government had to withdraw it. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 380; *Niles' Register*, LXV, 352; Pres. Santa Ana, Decree, Mexico, June 17, 1843, Guerra, *Doc. MS*, I, 35-38; Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, Pref. y Juzg., MS, II, 2; Min. Bocanegra to M. Micheltorena, Mexico, Oct. 9, 1843, Sup. Govt. St. Pap., MS, 3.

9. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, July 26, 1843, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 373.

10. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, July 26, 1843, *ibid.*, XI, 401, 402; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Oct. 7, 1843, *ibid.*, XI, 462; Dept. St. Pap., MS, V, 118; M. Jimeno to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Dec., 1843, Dept. St. Pap., MS, V, 3; Vallejo, *ibid.*, XI, 472; J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, July 19, 1843, Vallejo, *ibid.*, XI, 426.

11. In the spring of 1846, the Vallejo children started their music lessons under Andrew Hoeppner, an immigrant of 1845. On March, 1846, a contract was drawn up giving Hoeppner about 1,000 acres of land if he would give piano lessons to all of Vallejo's children. E. D. Holden, "California's First Pianos," in *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XIII, 34-37, Mar., 1934.

12. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 385.

13. Min. Tornel to M. Micheltorena, Mexico, May 11, 1844, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XII, 35; M. Micheltorena, military regulations for California militia, Monterey, July 16, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 51; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, July 19, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 55; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 406-9.

14. M. G. Vallejo to J. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 24, 1844, Vallejo *Doc. MS*, 114, Huntington Library.

15. M. Micheltorena to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Sept. 18, 1844; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Oct. 28, 1844, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, XII, 95.

16. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Nov. 18, 1844, in Bear Flag Papers, MS, p. 3; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 417-18.

17. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, San Pablo, Nov. 20, 1844, in Alvarado, *Carta Relacion*, MS, p. 108; M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Nov. 22, 1844, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XIV, 21-22.

18. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 410-11; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Nov. 28, 1844; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XII, 3.

19. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltorena, Sonoma, Dec., 1844, *ibid.*, XII; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 434-35; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 455-76.

20. Bancroft, *ibid.*, IV, 473-79; J. A. Sutter, Personal Reminiscences, MS, pp. 78-88, Bancroft Library.

21. J. A. Sutter to M. Micheltorena, New Helvetia, July 23, 1844, Dept. St. Pap., MS, XVII, 84-85; J. A. Sutter, Personal Reminiscences, MS, pp. 78-88; J. Bidwell, California in 1841-48, MS, pp. 119-22; J. A. Sutter, Diary, MS, p. 5.

22. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 13, 1844, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XII, 119. This letter is a copy and does not sound like Vallejo's composition, although the subject matter seems correct.

23. J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Dec. 15, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 122. This is also a copy and may not be authentic.
24. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 17, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 123.
25. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 18, 1844, Guerra, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 44-50; Legislative Records, MS, IV, 302-4; Dept. St. Pap., MS, V, 120.
26. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Dec. 23, 1844, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 126.
27. J. P. Leese to M. G. Vallejo, Sonoma, Dec. 24, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 127.
28. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 435-36.
29. J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Dec. 21, 1844. This letter is not extant, but its contents can be deduced from Vallejo's reply.
30. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 24, 1844, Vallejo Doc. MS, 114, Huntington Library.
31. M. G. Vallejo, circular to people, Sonoma, Feb. 1, 1845, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XII, 132; A. M. Osio to M. G. Vallejo, Yerba Buena, Feb. 4, 6, 8, 1845, *ibid.*, XII, 134, 136, 137.
32. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 520, 530; Pio Pico, proclamation, Los Angeles, June 27, 1845, Dept. St. Pap., MS, XIII, 30-33.
33. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 561; T. O. Larkin, Official Correspondence, MS, II, 112-16.
34. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 571-88.
35. Min. of Relations to Pio Pico, Mexico, July 10, 1845, in Sup. Govt. St. Pap., MS, XVIII, 8; also Castro, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 152; Pio Pico to J. Castro, Los Angeles, Sept. 18, 1845, Dept. St. Pap., MS, VI, 89; *ibid.*, VIII, 11.
36. J. Castro, *Orden del comandante general sobre permanencia de emigrados de Estados Unidos*, Sonoma, Nov., 1845, MS; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 152, 175; J. Castro to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Nov. 11, 1845, Vallejo, *ibid.*, 150.
37. M. G. Vallejo to A. Bustamante, Sonoma, Nov. 22, 1845, Vallejo, *ibid.*, XII, 157; J. A. Sutter to F. Guerrero, New Helvetia, Nov. 15, 1845, Savage, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 212.
38. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 612-16.
39. M. G. Vallejo to A. Bustamante, Sonoma, Nov. 22, 1845, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 157.
40. J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Nov. 10, 1845, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 176.
41. F. Guerra to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Mar. 11, 14, 1846, *ibid.*, XII, 184, 189; M. G. Vallejo to people, Sonoma, Mar. 14, 1846, *ibid.*, XII, 185.
42. Proceedings of military council, Monterey, Mar. 28-Apr. 11, 1846, Cal. Hist. Soc. *Quarterly*, V, 193-95, June, 1926; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 41-45, 59-63.
43. Lieut. Joseph Warren Revere was the only other writer of the time who gives the supposed text of the speech. He was not at the meeting but was told about it by Vallejo some time later. Both Vallejo and Revere claim that speeches were made by other members who were not present. The session was supposed to have taken place in Larkin's house, but Larkin makes no mention of it and the proceedings state that the council met at general headquarters. No one actually present at the meeting makes any mention of speeches in favor of annexation to England and France which were quoted by Vallejo in his history, nor did the foreign consuls, Forbes and Gasquet, who reported the proceedings to their governments, make any mention of them. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 61-87; J. W. Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California*, N. Y. & Boston, 1849, pp. 24-32; J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 133-46; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-47, 59-63.
44. P. de la Guerra to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, no date, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 181.
45. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 110-11; F. Arce to M. G. Vallejo, Sonoma, June 5, 1846, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, XII, 222.

(To be concluded)

CONTINUATION OF THE ANNALS OF
SAN FRANCISCO*

Compiled by DOROTHY H. HUGGINS

November 28, 1855, through December 31, 1855

November 28 (*Continued*) . . . The creditors of Adams & Co., wish to know whether the new Receiver, Mr. Naglee, is to have the funds or not. . . . The people at large would like to know why it is the Court does not enforce its own decrees, and as it has appointed a new Receiver in the place of Cohen, insist that its authority be respected. Should Palmer, Cook & Co. suspend before this decision is made, the creditors of Adams and Co. will consider it a great hardship if by any unnecessary delays of the Court, time should be granted to Palmer, Cook & Co. to swindle them out of this money."

The Special and Judiciary Committee of the Board of Assistant Aldermen, presented their report regarding houses of ill fame, in which they deplored the "state of morals in our city at once loathsome and alarming." The committee was of the opinion that until the Police Department is reorganized little can be done by the passage of an ordinance. They therefore submitted both a Police ordinance and an ordinance for the suppression of the houses of ill fame. It is said that the committee found between the boundaries of Clay, Broadway, Kearny and Stockton streets, one hundred of these houses.

Coal mines have been discovered about thirty miles southwest of Stockton at the head of Corral Hollow in the Coast Range. The California Stage Company have in use on the various lines running from Sacramento City, upwards of three hundred horses. They dispatch fifteen stages daily, and have fifteen hundred horses in use in various parts of the State.

November 29, Thanksgiving Day. The steamship *Golden Age*, under the command of Commodore Watkins, arrived in twelve and a half days from Panama, with 1,007 passengers. She sailed from the Island of Llenao (Ill-nao, or Islanao) where the Mail Company have now permanently established their depot for that end of the route. Captain Thompson and the acting engineer of the *Georgina* were arrested. Thanksgiving services were held at many of the churches this morning. In the afternoon there was a grand display by the Fire Department on the Plaza. Most of the engines of the city were on the ground and tested their powers. At one time four of our first class engines were throwing two streams each over the liberty pole in the Plaza, after which the Volunteer, No. 7, an old Boston engine, which had seen service twenty-five years, played a single stream to a greater height than any of the others. The Marion Rifle Company paraded in full dress. In the evening, the theatres and all other places of amusement were thronged. There were fewer drunken men in the streets than on any previous holiday.

November 30. The "consular difficulty" arising out of the trials of the Mexican and French Consuls having been settled, the salute to the French colors by the United States Government came off at 2 o'clock upon the arrival of the French frigate *Embascade*. While twenty-one guns were being fired from the U. S. frigate *Independence*, followed

*This portion of the "Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco" has been adapted from the *Alta California* and the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, November 28, 1855, to December 31, 1855.

EXECUTOR'S SALE

OF PARTS OF

THE FOLSOM ESTATE.

CONSISTING OF LOTS IN THE
CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

SALES TO TAKE PLACE IN SAN FRANCISCO, AT
MUSICAL HALL, on Bush Street,
BETWEEN MONTGOMERY AND SANSOME,
ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 10th, 1856,
Commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

THE undersigned, Executors of the Last Will and Testament of JOSEPH L. FOLSOM, Deceased, being thereto authorized by an order of the Probate Court of the County of San Francisco, made on the 17th day of December, A. D., 1855, will sell at Public Auction, to the Highest Bidder, on THURSDAY, the 10th day of January, A. D. 1856, the following described property, Situated in the CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO, being part of the Real Estate of the said Joseph L. Folsom, Deceased.

TIME AND PLACE OF SALE.

The Sale will take place at MUSICAL HALL, on BUSH STREET, on THURSDAY, the 10th day of January, A. D., 1856, and will commence at 10 o'clock, A. M., and will be continued from day to day, if necessary, until finished.

TERMS OF SALE.

As by order of the Probate Court, will be One-Half in Cash, and One-Half in Ninety Days, with Interest at the rate of One per cent. per month until maturity, and after maturity at the rate of Two per cent. per month until paid; or the whole in Cash, at the option of the Purchaser. All sums, required to be paid in Cash, shall be paid on the day after the sale; the Credit allowed shall begin to run from the day of sale. All sums on which credit is given shall be secured by Note and Mortgage of the Land sold. The Acts of SALE and SECURITY shall be at the expense of the Purchasers.

N. B.—According to the provisions of the "Act to Regulate the Settlement of the Estate of Deceased Persons," the sales made by the Executors will be reported to the Probate Court at the Term which will commence on the third Monday in January, 1856, being the twenty-first day of the month, and an Order prayed for confirming the Sales, and directing Conveyances to be made.

But, so far as the Rents and Profits of the property are concerned, they will in all cases where the sale is confirmed belong to the purchaser from the day the property was knocked down at Auction.

MAPS can be seen, and CATALOGUES of the property obtained at the Office of the Auctioneers.

H. W. HALLECK.	} Executors of the Estate of the late J. L. Folsom, deceased.
A. C. PEACHY.	
P. W. VAN WINKLE.	

SELOVER, SINTON & Co., Auct'rs,
102 MERCHANT STREET.

by a return salute from the *Embuscade*, the French consular flag was run up and Consul Dillon made an address to the French citizens assembled before his residence.

Both Edward Jones and A. A. Cohen, in their examination before the referee, have refused to answer any of the questions touching the affairs of Adams & Co. put them by Mr. Park, the counsel on the other side. Judge Hager has therefore ordered both Jones and Cohen committed for contempt. "If Palmer, Cook & Co. have dealt honestly by the creditors of Adams & Co., why do they wish to conceal their acts?" asks the *Bulletin*.

Before the U. S. Land Commission, Domingo Feliz, who held the office of juez de campo in 1844, testified that he had had a conversation at that time with Limantour, who told him that he had petitioned Justice of the Peace Don Guillermo Hinckley for a lot in the place called "Canutal Grande" on the old Mission Road from this city to Mission Dolores, where Mr. Hays now resides, and that when he saw Limantour again in 1847, he (Limantour) said that he was glad that the lot he had asked for had not been given him, for the Americans would have taken it away from him.

T. M. Janes, Treasurer and Attorney for Wells, Fargo & Co., announces that Louis W. McLane, Jr., is, from this date, General Agent for that house in California.

December 1. Wells, Fargo & Co. removed their banking house and express office to Parrott's Building, northwest corner Montgomery and California streets. A meeting having been held before the Receiver, Mr. Balie Peyton, the *Bulletin* presented a general statement of the affairs of Sanders & Brenham:

Assets at cost	\$319,635.27
Liabilities	274,396.29
Surplus	\$ 45,238.98
Liabilities as above	274,396.29
Assets at estimated cash value	207,612.00
Deficit	\$ 66,784.29

Mr. Frank M. Pixley has sued the City to recover \$5,000 for associate counsel fees in city suits, alleging that he was retained by Mr. Sawyer, late City Attorney.

A letter was printed in the *Bulletin* stating that "There is no country in the world where a man can pay out money and receive no return therefrom with the same facility as in California. Take, for example, the opening of Brannan Street, which cost property holders . . . along the route of the said road, about eighty thousand dollars . . . to build a free road to the Mission. But to cross Mission Creek in a narrow place, required a draw bridge, to accommodate Mr. Dow's distillery. To make a draw bridge to open and shut with a crank, is the simplest thing in all countries except California. . . . True, while this bridge had no keeper, it worked well. Recently the Board of Supervisors gave a keeper \$1,800 a year to take care of this bridge. . . . No sooner was this done, than every Sunday, every holiday, every race-day, this same bridge is so shockingly out of repairs as to *turn all traffic on the plank road!* Gas! Humbug!! Gammon!! . . ."

December 3. The *Bulletin* prints the following: "A short time since, when Judge Hager's name was mentioned as a candidate for the position he now holds, Mr. Edward Jones, of the firm of Palmer, Cook & Co., called on His Honor, and in a business-like way informed him that unless a certain case, then before his Court, were decided in favor of Palmer, Cook & Co., *be, Judge Hager, could not get the nomination!* Judge Hager, we are told, heard the threat, eyed Mr. Jones deliberately from head to foot,

turned on his heel and left the representative of Palmer, Cook & Co. to his reflections!"
The bonds on which Palmer, Cook & Co. are liable as securities are:

For State Treasurer	\$100,000
" Agent State Board of Land Commissioners	100,000
" State Prison Directors	10,000
Total for State	\$210,000
For Superintendent of Com. Schools	\$ 20,000
" Sheriff	100,000
" County Treasurer	150,000
" Assessor of Fourth Ward	3,000
" City Treasurer	100,000
Total for City and County	373,000
Total for Public Officers	\$ 583,000
They are also security for Mr. Alfred A. Cohen, as Receiver	\$1,000,000
And for the same Mr. Cohen as bail (on the charge of hav-	
ing been connected with Woods in the gold dust swindle)	420,000
	\$2,003,000

"This firm, whose valuation per the Assessor's books is only \$288,050, *have sworn and gone on bonds to the extent of upwards of two millions of dollars,*" states the *Bulletin*.

In the case of Adams vs. D. H. Haskell and I. C. Woods, on motion for an order on Cohen and others, Assignees of Adams & Co., to pay coin, property &c. to Naglee, Receiver, Judge Hager delivered the following opinion: "In this action, by order of my predecessor, Alfred A. Cohen was appointed Receiver, to take charge of all the gold dust, coin, books and evidences of debts and the property of every description, both real and personal, of the firm of Adams & Co., composed of plaintiff and defendants. It appears that said Cohen entered upon the duties of his office, and took possession of said assets and property; that subsequently the defendant, I. C. Woods, in behalf of himself and said firm, filed in this Court his petition and made application for the benefit of the insolvent laws of this State, in which proceeding the respondents, said Alfred A. Cohen, Richard Roman, and Edward Jones, were appointed assignees; that after their appointment . . . Cohen transferred said assets and property to said assignees, who took and still retain the possession thereof. After the above proceedings, the Supreme Court, in effect, decided that the District Court had no jurisdiction of the insolvent suit of Woods vs. His Creditors, and that all the proceedings thereunder were void. This Court also, for cause, removed Cohen as Receiver, and appointed Henry M. Naglee in his place, who has given an approved bond for the faithful performance of his duties and is now acting Receiver in this suit. As such Receiver, the said Naglee moves this Court for orders upon said Roman, Cohen & Jones, and upon each of them: First, to deliver to him all books of accounts, securities, and evidences of indebtedness; Secondly, to deliver and pay to him all gold coin, gold dust and bullion in his possession, power or control, or in the possession, power or control of either of them, belonging to the late firm of Adams & Co. The respondents by their answer admit that they have the custody and possession of the books of account, &c., and also over \$100,000 of the funds, but claim the right to retain the same. . . . It does not appear to be disputed but that at one time this Court had the custody and control of the property; that the Receiver, Cohen, held it in trust subject to the order and control of the

Court, and that the respondents as assignees received it in trust subject to like order and control. In consideration of law neither the Receiver nor the respondents ever had the control or disposition of the property and assets. They could not legally appropriate a dollar thereof without the sanction of the Court. As officers, trustees or custodians they held the property, but its distribution or destination was a matter to be determined by the Court. . . . By the decision of the Supreme Court each assignee, so far as relates to the insolvent suit, became *functus officio*, and if they bear no relation to the Court, they now hold this large amount of property as naked bailees, without security or authority of law, and creditors of Adams & Co., to whom it properly belongs, have no certainty that any portion of it will ever reach their hands. . . . Although the respondents are no longer assignees, their relation to the Court as trustees or custodians of the property and funds over which the Court had control has not been destroyed. . . . The respondents have no right to retain the books of account, evidences of indebtedness, &c. "They have no authority and cannot proceed to sue upon or collect any note or outstanding indebtedness due the firm of Adams & Co.; and yet they have refused to deliver them over to the only person authorized to receive them and attend to their collection. They have also denied the plaintiff to this suit . . . an inspection for the purpose of obtaining information of his house and business. The conduct of respondents in these particulars is without justification. . . . I have no hesitation in granting the order, in this respect, to the full extent asked. As to the coin, gold dust, &c., the respondents in resisting this order, allege . . . that these funds have been attached, and also that a suit has been instituted to settle priorities among the creditors. Our attachment law is to the effect that when a person has possession of any property belonging to the defendant in the action . . . he shall deliver the same up to the Sheriff, or be liable for the amount. . . . The respondents, if they desired . . . to have a speedy distribution of this fund among the creditors of Adams & Co., could have paid it over to the Sheriff, as the law directs. . . . I am of the opinion that, inasmuch as this Court lawfully obtained the control of this fund, and, by its consent, the respondents became the custodians thereof, the Court has not lost or been deprived of the control, and that respondents, so far as the coin, &c., is concerned, and also the fund itself, are yet subject to the orders of this Court. . . . The respondents, in point of fact, may be safe custodians of this property, but, in point of law, they are not so. . . . If it is restored to the possession of the Receiver, the creditors will have the additional security of his bond, to which the sureties may, at any time, for cause shown, be increased. The order of respondents, to pay over the coin, is granted . . . subject to any legal existing liens or attachments thereon, or claims against the same."

December 4. "Our readers will remember," states the *Bulletin*, "that in the controversy with the firm of Janes, Doyle, Barber & Boyd we took especial pains on every occasion to except Mr. Horace P. Janes from the charges of inconsistency made against that firm. . . ." Evidently this was not appreciated by Mr. Janes, for the following card appeared in the *Bulletin* this evening over his signature: "I avail myself of the first occasion after my return to San Francisco to notice the assaults attempted during my absence by Mr. James King of Wm. upon my partners, Mr. John T. Doyle, William Barber, and James T. Boyd. . . . I approve and espouse every act of Messrs. Doyle, Barber & Boyd in the affairs of Adams & Co., and especially those which have furnished to Mr. King a pretext for his past slanders. . . ." In reply, the *Bulletin* quoted from its issue of October 25: "It will be remembered, that in one of the suits growing out of I. C. Woods rascality, in which he was supported by this same delectable firm of honest (!) lawyers, a certain affidavit was filed, signed by John T. Doyle, . . . [stating] 'that they (Janes, Doyle, Barber and Boyd) were retained by Mr. I. C. Woods, and, as deponent understood, retained on behalf of the firm of Adams & Co., . . . that Mr. Park,

of the firm of Halleck, Peachy, Billings & Park, was associated with defendant's firm in the case, *and deponent understood from the beginning, that the retainer of his firm was on behalf of the firm of Adams & Co., and had no doubt Mr. Park's was the same.*' Now Mr. Park denies this *in toto* in his affidavit, and . . . Mr. Billings . . . also confirms Mr. Park's denial of Doyle's statement." Mr. Park produced a letter from Janes, Doyle, Barber & Boyd to Alvin Adams, stating that they had been retained by Adams in the proceedings at law and would act for him throughout. "If Mr. Horace P. Janes, who signed the name of his firm to the letter of the 25th of February, told the truth when he said 'we have been retained *by you and act for you throughout*,' how could Mr. Doyle, in alluding to the same suit of Adams *vs.* Woods & Haskell, swear that they were not acting for Adams *against* Woods, but for Adams *and Company*?"

A letter appeared in the *Bulletin* asking when Mr. Dennis will complete the railroad through Market and Valencia streets, to the Mission Dolores, the contract for which was awarded to him by the Council one year since. Messrs. Palmer, Cook & Co. were the bondsmen in \$100,000 for its performance. The *Bulletin* stated that it had not been able to learn the whereabouts of this bond, which it was understood was for \$200,000. In the U. S. Land Commission, before Commissioner Felch, Peter F. Sherrebach testified in regard to the Limantour Claim that he had heard Alcalde Hinckley say that he could not give the grant of the "Canutales" to Limantour because he was not a Mexican citizen, and that the Alcalde could not grant more than 50 varas square. Sherrebach was syndic to Hinckley. In the County Court, before Judge Freelon, Mr. David Scannell, Sheriff, and Mr. Robert E. Woods, County Treasurer, were cited to appear, on an affidavit of Mr. King, that they should show cause why they should not give additional security on their official bonds. His Honor took the matter under advisement.

One hundred guns were fired this evening by the Know Nothings in celebration of the recent victories of their party in the Eastern States.

December 5. St. Louis papers report that the great injunction *vs.* Page & Bacon is dissolved, "so we suppose," states the *Bulletin*, "the Railroad will soon be disposed of for the benefit of the creditors of the two houses of Page & Bacon and Page, Bacon & Co." In the meanwhile the sale of Daniel D. Page's property goes on. A letter from F. W. Page states that he had received word from George E. Hoadley, assignee of Page, Bacon & Co., from New York, that it was his intention "to commence paying this week a further dividend of 10% upon the drafts on which 60% has already been paid." In the case of Naglee *vs.* Cohen and Palmer, Cook & Co., the defendants still refuse to pay over the funds, although ordered to do so by the Court. A writ of attachment was issued yesterday and Mr. Cohen and Mr. Jones were both arrested. Both are friends of Sheriff Scannell, and Jones is one of the sureties for the Sheriff.

According to the *Alta*, passengers by the *Astoria* from Chile report that the account published some days since of Meiggs' flight to Buenos Aires is incorrect. After the order for his arrest had been issued, Meiggs went to Santiago, and by the interference of his friends, the order was rescinded and he was not arrested. Our informant states that the family of Meiggs were ignorant of the charges against him, he having told his wife that the reason he left here was on account of his failures. He said that he was not the only guilty one in San Francisco connected with affairs which are charged against him, and that after paying off his crew and landing in Chile, he had only \$4,500 left. Several of the most famed Ethiopian Minstrels in the United States arrived on the *Cortes*.

Some four or five hundred emigrants, among whom are Lieut. Anderson, Capt. McNabb, Col. Sutter, and Capt. Coy, are leaving today on the *Sierra Nevada* to join Col. Walker. James Green and James Gallagher, just arrived in the bark *J. R. Mora*,

fell through a man-trap on Drumm Street at high tide, and would probably have been drowned had not a boatman been near and rescued them. All who are compelled to go towards the Bay after night would do well to avoid both Commercial and Sacramento streets, as they are in such condition that a person cannot pass in that direction without falling into one of the many "traps" on these streets. *Achan in El Dorado* is the title of a new book just issued from the press of Messrs. Whitton, Towne & Co., in very neat style. It is composed of discourses delivered in Calvary Church by the Rev. Dr. Scott.

December 6. Last night after 10 o'clock the Sheriff started for the County Jail with Messrs. A. A. Cohen and Edward Jones, but on the way there a habeas corpus, issued by T. W. Freelon, County Judge, was served on the Sheriff, under which the parties were set at liberty for the night.

The *Bulletin*, on its editorial pages states: "Our readers will remember that some time since we made some strictures on the agency of Mr. [A. A.] Selover in the Water Lot Sale in this city, which remarks applied with more force to the Board of State Land Commissioners than to Mr. Selover, for we merely styled Mr. Selover as the 'ostensible agent.' But subsequently, on undoubted authority we *did* animadvert on the *manner* in which Mr. Selover, as State Auctioneer, conducted the sale." At the time, "Mr. Selover did not think proper to make any exception, or to exhibit any hostile demonstrations, but for the last three or four days, since the affairs of Palmer, Cook & Co. seem to be approaching a crisis, Mr. Selover has been waxing more and more wrathful. . . . We were told that Mr. Selover had used some abusive epithet intended for us, and . . . that Mr. Selover had armed himself with a long bowie knife, for the purpose of attacking us in case we resented his language. . . . Yesterday the transactions of the Fourth District Court, we suppose, left no shadow of doubt on the minds of Palmer, Cook & Co. and their friends as to the future course of Judge Hager. . . . On our way home yesterday afternoon . . . we heard some offensive remark which caused us to turn, when at a distance of about eight or ten paces we saw Mr. Selover and Mr. Vassault standing together. Mr. Selover immediately commenced a tirade of most offensive epithets. . . . We remained for about two minutes to see if Mr. Selover intended using any other weapons than words. . . . We then passed on. . . . We beg now to state our determination, made before the first number of the *Bulletin* was issued, that we shall avoid, by *every possible means*, a personal rencontre with any hiring of Palmer, Cook & Co., or Billy Mulligan, or Sheriff Scannell. . . . So long as we are in charge of this paper we shall ever expose corruption, and fraud, and vice, and crime, of every kind and description, and the wealthier the criminal, the greater will be our efforts to counteract the use of his money, and bring him to punishment. If this course subjects us to assault or assassination, we can't help it. We will do our best in self defence. And now, if Mr. Selover is armed for an attack, we suggest to him that some regard should be paid to the lives and limbs of bystanders. Mr. Selover, it is said, carries a knife. We carry a pistol. We hope neither will be required, but if this rencontre cannot be avoided, why will Mr. Selover persist in periling the lives of others? We pass every afternoon about 4½ or 5 o'clock, along Market Street, from 4th to 5th Street. The road is wide and not so much frequented as those streets further in town. If we are to be shot or hacked to pieces, for heaven's sake let it be done there. Others will not be injured, and in case we fall, our house is but a few hundred yards beyond, and the cemetery not much further."

In the U. S. Land Commission, Commissioner Felch presiding, Henry W. Halleck testified that he was Secretary of State and had charge of the Government archives in California from the year 1847 to 1850; that he was employed most of his time for two years in examining and making extracts from the same, and that he made a list of all

the grants and *expedientes* of title; that he is certain he never saw an *expediente* of which a traced copy is filed in Case 549, which purports to relate to a grant of the islands of Yerba Buena, Alcatraz, and the Farallones, and a tract of land in the margin of the Bay of San Francisco; that he was directed by the Governor to examine the archives for all paper relating to Yerba Buena and Alcatraz islands, and had such a document been there it could not have escaped his notice. He further testified that Aguste Jouan told him that he (Jouan) was in California in 1852, attending to the Gulnac claim before the Board, and also acting as agent for Limantour, and that Jouan told the witness in the City of Mexico, in February last, that this and other claims of Limantour to land in California were fraudulent; that the title in this particular case was gotten up in the City of Mexico, about the time that Captain Richardson was there, and that the other titles and a portion of the papers in this claim were filled up in the City of San Francisco from blank papers, signed in Mexico and sent here to the address of the French Consul Dillon, under the seal of the French Minister in Mexico. He said the papers were generally filled up in San Francisco by a Frenchman who had once been a clerk of Micheltorena, and that the Frenchman was here all the time Limantour was here, but under an assumed name.

The editor of the Sacramento *Union* has received a letter from a Mr. M. Winn, of Iowa Hill, stating that Mr. James Marshall is not insane, as has been reported by a number of the newspapers, but that he has been living at Iowa Hill for the last eight or nine months during most of which time he has been engaged in mining. He is represented as a quiet, peaceable and industrious man. During an acquaintance of seven months the writer had never seen nor heard of his drinking a glass of spirituous liquor. The correspondent maintains that a great act of injustice has been done in depriving Mr. Marshall, the discoverer of the richest gold mines in the world, of his rights as a settler on property of which he had held possession since 1847, and inquires if it would not be right and proper for Congress to make some provision for his relief.

The members of the Grand Jury who voted in favor of overhauling the securities of the County officers were: F. Argenti, A. J. Ellis, Isaac N. Thorne, Joseph A. Donohoe, Sam'l Hermann, Jr., George Keys, J. H. Goodman, Samuel S. Philips, W. B. Comstock, Beverley C. Sanders, Ben. Adams Patten, R. H. Bacon, William Arrington, A. Wardwell, George T. Marye, Richard M. Jessup, Henry Gregory and John H. Bosworth.

Mark Sheldon advertises for sale, 325 jars China eggs per *Live Yankee*, 200 cases Boston eggs, and 50 bbls. Boston eggs per *Queen of the Seas*.

December 7. A letter from Mr. A. A. Selover appeared in the *Bulletin*, calling James King of William a "liar," a "swindler," and a "coward," and stating that if he felt "insulted by the *candid* remarks made by me on yesterday; and if, as your article indicates, you would like to see me 'about 4½ to 5 o'clock, along Market Street, from Fourth to Fifth Street' . . . you shall certainly have that pleasure; provided: you will give me the slightest indication of your desire, either verbally or in writing, by 3 o'clock P. M. today." In reply, Mr. King stated "I leave it to the public to decide, after reading my editorial of yesterday, whether I have not shown every disposition to *avoid* an encounter with Mr. Selover. I shall leave my office today at the usual hour, and by the usual route. *I do not* wish to meet Mr. Selover, as proposed. . . . A proper regard for the lives and limbs of others induced me to suggest the locality indicated, and that only *provided* Mr. Selover was *determined* on driving me to the last resort. I will neither send to, nor accept from, Mr. Selover any message that may be construed as a challenge; *but I will not* be deterred from discharging my duty as an Editor, and the consequences I leave with the public."

The public schools are now open, and the Superintendent reports that they are now crowded with children. Opening of the schools had been delayed for some time, owing

to a religious and political controversy that has been raging. In 1851-52 laws were passed establishing a common school system in the cities of our State to make education free to all. The Roman Catholics, however, wished to have their own schools but to receive money from the State for their support. In 1853 they procured from the Legislature a proviso (Art. 5, Sections 4 and 5) empowering the county superintendent to extend his authority within the city limits and create school commissioners on the application of the inhabitants of any district. The commissioners were authorized to establish schools, and such schools were to receive a pro rata of the public school tax. Under this arrangement, the schools in San Francisco consisted of the public schools under the city Board of Education and the "ward branches," or Catholic schools, established by county authority. There have been six of these "ward branches"—two taught by nuns and four by Catholic laity—drawing some \$25,000 to \$30,000 annually. The last Legislature repealed this law and rendered the legal existence of these schools doubtful. The San Francisco Board of Education then voted to invite the Catholic schools to come under their supervision, to provide teachers for them, and to charge the common school system for their benefit. A committee was appointed to examine all the applicants to teach, and public notice was given of the examination. Practically all of the public school teachers, but only a few of the teachers from the Catholic schools, attended and were examined; some staying away because of their "monastic vows of seclusion," and the rest because they "preferred not to attend." This and the question as to whether or not the Bible was to be read in the public schools gave rise to considerable discussion in the newspapers. The Catholic teachers were finally given some sort of examination in their homes or schools, the Board proceeded with the appointment of teachers, and the schools have opened at last.

December 8. The steamship *Panama* has been chartered by the Government for conveying supplies to Oregon. As soon as she can take on cannon, horses, &c. at Benicia, she will sail for Fort Vancouver.

December 9. The U. S. Steamship *Active* under the command of James Alden, formerly of the U. S. Coast Survey, left for Oregon, to be placed under the orders of General Wool to assist in quelling the Indian disturbances.

December 10. Judge Campbell called the attention of the Fourth District Court to an error in Cora's indictment, which had occurred in Judge Freelon's court, and asked for an extension. In the Superior Court a motion was made for an injunction to prevent the Sheriff and J. C. Palmer from selling certain bills receivable, warrants, &c., in the hands of Cohen, Roman and Jones, to satisfy a judgment in favor of said Palmer, and asking that said property be delivered over to H. M. Naglee, Receiver.

In the Board of Assistant Aldermen, a petition was presented from Messrs. Perkins, Bensley and Co., asking the right to supply the city with good, pure, and fresh water from a stream among the Point Lobos hills, and proposing to furnish one million gallons per day. The petition of Lloyd Tevis, J. B. Haggin, and J. B. Overton (styling themselves "The Water Works Company of San Francisco"), for the right to supply the city with water from a lake some twenty miles from the city, was laid on the table. The ordinance allowing the Mountain Lake Water Company one year from January 1 to complete their work was referred to a Committee of the Whole.

The discoverers of the coal field in the Coast Range, according to the *San Joaquin Reporter*, have sold it for \$4,000 to some gentlemen in San Francisco, who are now working it. At the corner of Pacific and Kearny streets is a large cistern filled to the brim, but having no covers over it. The covers were taken off a week ago and have not been replaced. If a person should fall in at night he must almost to a certainty be drowned. From the report of the Chief Engineer of the Fire Department, presented in

the Common Council this evening, we learn that there are as many as thirty traps to the public cisterns missing, and that fourteen cisterns are in want of repairs.

December 11. The steamer *Senator* arrived from San Diego last evening bringing news that, at the session of the U. S. District Court held at Los Angeles on December 3, an opinion was delivered reversing the opinion of the U. S. Land Commission, confirming the San Francisquito claim of Henry Dalton.

Judge Freelon delivered his opinion in the case of A. A. Cohen and Edward Jones, committed to the County Jail by an order of the Fourth District Court for their refusal to comply with the order of the same Court, issued December 4, requiring them to hand over the books, papers and assets of Adams & Co. to the receiver appointed by the Court. The prisoners were ordered to be discharged. Messrs. Cook & Jones, of the firm of Palmer, Cook & Co., appeared in the afternoon before Judge Freelon to qualify as sureties on the official bonds of the County Treasurer and Sheriff. After a full examination of the parties, the Court expressed itself as fully satisfied with the security and approved the bonds of the officers referred to.

The second of the course of free lectures before the Mechanics' Institute will be delivered tomorrow evening at Musical Hall by Hon. Wm. Van Voorhies. "The Mercantile Library Association of this city is fast growing to be a favorite place of resort," states the *Bulletin*. "We now wish to see the Mechanics' Institute encouraged also."

December 12. The residence of Mr. Taaffe (of the firm of Taaffe, McCahill & Co.) at the corner of Jones and Chestnut streets, was totally consumed by fire this morning, in spite of the efforts of the whole Fire Department. J. F. Murphy, foreman of Volunteer Co. No. 7, was badly hurt, and his wounds were dressed by Drs. Rowell and Williams.

At a meeting of the San Francisco Medical Society, the following officers were elected: Pres., Dr. H. Gibbons; First Vice Pres., Dr. F. Downer; Second Vice Pres., Dr. B. A. Sheldon; Corresponding Secretary, W. P. Gibbons; Recording Secretary, Dr. W. Carman; Treasurer, Dr. F. A. Holman; Curator, Dr. W. O. Ayres; Censors: Drs. H. B. White, H. H. Toland, I. Rowell, R. McIntosh, C. Precht. We understand that Mr. E. H. Taylor has a fine hop field under cultivation in this vicinity, or near Oakland. He is the first, we believe, to cultivate hops as a market crop in California. They seem thus far to flourish finely.

December 13. The Board of Supervisors voted to award the contract for opening the road from the Pioneer race-course to Islais Creek to T. J. Phelan & Co., they being the lowest bidders. Bills to the amount of \$6,059 were ordered paid, including \$3,805, Sheriff's fees for the month of November. The prosecuting counsel, in the case of Cora, in conjunction with District Attorney Carpentier, have decided that a petition to the presiding judge of the Court of Sessions is a necessary preliminary to summoning a Grand Jury, and have accordingly petitioned Judge Freelon that a grand jury forthwith be ordered to be summoned before the Court to try the case of Cora. The absence of the date in the summons was one of the grounds of the demurrer in the case. Whether the ground was tenable or not was not tested, as the prosecuting counsel desired to avoid anything that might form a pretense for carrying the case before the Supreme Court.

December 14. The bondsmen for John Cooney being apprehensive that he would suddenly disappear from the city, surrendered him up to the authorities last night. He was then remanded into custody.

The Sacramento *Union* reports that General Chiles, having recently received a commission from Col. Bluck, of Siskiyou, has been engaged for a fortnight past in an effort to raise a volunteer force in the neighborhood of Walker's ranch, near the Coast Range

in Colusa County, to enter the field against the hostile Indians in the North. About ten days since, General Chiles started in company with Walker to visit the latter's camp. When within about a quarter of a mile of the ranch, Walker was compelled to return for his pistol which he had forgotten. Soon after, the General found himself confronted by an Indian, who threw him down, dragged him a few steps and robbed him of his clothing, leaving him standing solitary and alone in his boots.

In the Superior Court, Edward Jones has brought suit against Judge Hager, H. M. Naglee, E. Stanley, T. W. Park and O. L. Shafter, for false imprisonment, and places his damages at \$100,000.

December 15. Judge Hager, on affidavit, has issued an order to show cause, against Sheriff Scannell, why he should not be punished for contempt, in not executing a warrant issued by this Court against Roman, Jones and Cohen. In the Court of Sessions, the following gentlemen were sworn in as members of the Grand Jury for the present term: R. McKee (foreman), Henry E. Perrine, Frank Baker, Charles Hosmer, B. Peyton, Jr., T. H. Selby, A. G. Ramsdell, W. P. Jones, Geo. W. Greene, F. B. Folger, Mr. Randolph, G. H. Wheeler, Ed. Beale, P. W. Van Winkle, Patrick Hunt, C. B. Polhemus, T. J. L. Smiley, Chas. W. Rand, Ferdinand Vassault, Chas. H. Morgan, Samuel Loring and T. J. Haynes. The first and great case that comes before them is that of Cora.

H. L. Goodwin of the Penny Post Co. was arrested this morning at the instigation of Postmaster Weller, for interfering in the private arrangements of the Post Office. Mr. Goodwin was soon after liberated on bail.

The gold and silver mounted fire cap donated by Mr. J. Rochette to the successful candidate as Chief Engineer, was presented this evening, by Marshal Hampton North, to Mr. J. E. Nuttman, in the presence of a large number of members of the Fire Department. After the ceremony, three complimentary cheers were given to the retired chief, C. P. Duane.

December 16. The steamer *California* arrived from Oregon in a disabled condition, after a passage of 21 days. Among the passengers on board were Major Lee, Major Reynolds and Colonel Stockton. The last number of the *Times and Transcript* of this city was issued yesterday, the newspaper having been sold to the proprietors of the *Alta California*. Sacramento City was lighted with gas for the first time.

December 17. In attempting to enter the harbor of Monterey yesterday morning, the steamer *Senator* ran upon a rock in the fog and was somewhat injured. The charge against H. L. Goodwin was examined before the Mayor this morning and dismissed; whereupon Mr. Goodwin complained against Post Master Weller for assault and battery and had him arrested. This countercharge was also dismissed. The *Water Fount and Home Journal* has resumed its issues, but has changed its place of publication from this city to Sacramento.

In the Board of Assistant Aldermen, an ordinance was passed authorizing the Mayor to contract with James Banks & Co. for covered cisterns. A substitute ordinance granting the Mountain Lake Water Company further time, was presented, and passed.

This evening F. C. Ewer, Esq., will deliver a free lecture on "Geology, Its Relation to the Scripture," before the Young Men's Christian Association, in the California Exchange Building over the Post Office.

According to the *Bulletin*, Mr. Jones, in his suit, "says, that he was kept and detained in prison (?) for the space of one week, and that he had to expend the sum of \$10,000 to obtain his release!—also that he was imprisoned a second time, and had to expend a further sum of \$10,000 to get released again! Here is \$20,000 (if we rightly read the complaint) expended by Palmer, Cook & Co. in getting out a habeas corpus for the release of one of their firm. . . . Well, now, what we wish to arrive at is, to whom was

this \$20,000 paid? . . . Not [to] Judge Freelon, of course, because that would *at once* settle the question as to his integrity now so much mooted. . . . We are no friend of Sheriff Scannell's . . . but in very truth we do not believe the Sheriff got a dollar of this money! What officer then did get it? It was not Judge Hager, of the Fourth District Court, because he was the very officer that *ordered* Jones not only to be arrested but committed! . . . Well, who the deuce *was* it?"

Last evening, about six o'clock, a machine containing ten or twelve pounds of powder and balls was placed at the front door of Mdme. Fanny Perriere, on Pike Street, near Clay. She states that when she opened the door, she saw Judge Ned McGowan (who had been living with her some time, but with whom she had recently had a difficulty) on the porch. She closed the door, and desired her servant to order him away. The man servant went out and found on the porch a bag on fire. When he picked it up, it exploded, burning him in a dreadful manner, and considerably injuring the house. Immediately the Madame went to Marshal North and entered a complaint against Ned McGowan of assault with intent to commit murder. He was immediately arrested, and gave \$5,000 bail. McGowan denied any knowledge of the affair.

December 18. In the U. S. Land Commission, before Commissioners Felch and Thompson, the claims of Joseph S. Alemany, Catholic Archbishop of California, 1st, for lands for the support of a college, granted by the Governor of California; 2d, for lands for the support of divine worship at the Mission of San Miguel; 3d, for lands for the support of divine worship at San Luis Obispo; 4th, for churches, buildings, gardens and vineyards connected with twenty-one missions established in California, were confirmed as far as described in the petition, which does not comprise all delineated in the surveys submitted by the claimant. The claim of Andrés Pico and others for 30,000 acres, more or less, for establishment of the Mission of San José, Santa Clara County, was confirmed as far as relates to the unoccupied lands held by the Mission; but rejected as to the property particularly belonging to the Church. The claim of Thomas O. Larkin, for 15 acres, orchard of Mission, Santa Clara County, was rejected. The claim of Clement Panaud for 1,000 x 200 varas, Garden of San Cayetano, Santa Clara, was rejected, but that of Clement Panaud et al. for 400 acres, orchard of San Juan Bautista, Monterey County, was confirmed. Parker H. French has resigned his commission in Nicaragua and has been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. The Lafayette Hook and Ladder house was opened to the public today.

The argument in the case of Jones and Cohen, on habeas corpus, was finished today and the persons remanded to the custody of the Sheriff until further notice. Several complaints of extortion by hackmen have been made recently, one instance being the case of a poor woman who on arriving from the last steamer was induced to get into the hack and ride to Pacific Street, for which she had to pay \$15.00.

From the *Sierra Citizen* the *Bulletin* quotes the following: "If James King of William be so great a coward as they make out when a safe distance and on paper, why don't some of these outraged individuals take a small stick, go down to his office or meet him in the street, and break his head? . . . It does seem to us that if James King of William should endeavor to prove us a public thief, *and should come very nearly doing so*, . . . and provided that we thought James King of William a coward, or that we could whip him, or pull his nose with impunity, we should endeavor to dry him up one way or another. Pitch into him, somebody! Throw bricks at him; shy rocks at him—DO something! and not call the man a coward because he refuses to stand up and be shot at by any fool who can shut his eyes and touch off gunpowder. . . ."

The *State Tribune* of Saturday reports a meeting for the relief of General Chiles and states that the following characteristic bulletin has been received from the gallant

hero, dated in the Indian country: "Sir:—I met the enemy just as the enemy happened to meet me, and being well prepared for them, struck one tremendous big chief on the head, knocked down a squaw, and kicked an old woman in the stomach. They then rushed upon me, and while my cowardly legs began to make off with my body, put fourteen arrows into my back behind, and tuck off all my clothes off. Major Gen. Childs. P. S. I rite this suffering great turpitude and sorrow. M. G. C."

At a meeting of the Mercantile Library Association held this evening, the following were nominated for the year 1856: President, Louis McLane, Jr.; Vice President, A. B. Forbes; Recording Secretary, W. C. Hyde; Corresponding Secretary, Edward H. Howard; Treasurer, W. L. Garrison; Directors, Philip Verplank, J. G. Kettele, W. J. Bally, R. D. W. Davis, H. C. Walbridge, J. T. L. Smiley, W. Y. Patch, John Clements, J. A. Donahue.

December 19. According to the *Bulletin*, it seems that Mr. R. W. Slocum, President of the Board of Aldermen, has incurred the sore displeasure of Mr. Broderick and is to be slaughtered therefor. "Mr. Slocum, we hear, is a Democrat, but on the occasion of voting for Captain of the Police he preferred having an honest Whig elected to that post than to sustain such a worthy as Claughley who professed to be a Democrat. Mr. D. C. Broderick has been using all his influence to get this man Claughley elected, . . . has promised that Mr. Slocum can have any office that he might wish, . . . if he would only vote for Claughley . . . a bribe of \$2,000, we understand . . . was offered, in addition." Mr. C. J. Ellis has leased the Pioneer Race Course.

December 20. The old Spanish field-piece, bearing date of 1663, was stolen from Rincon Point last night. Its weight was 250 pounds. It is thought some of Walker's boys who went down in the *Cortes* know of its whereabouts. The Sacramento *Union* of December 19 announces that the cars will run regularly on the Sacramento Valley Rail Road between that city and Alder Creek, on and after tomorrow; fare to Alder Creek has been fixed at \$1.50, and the price of freight at \$2.50 per ton. Madame Fanny Perriere left today in the steamer *Sonora* for her native country. It is said that she did not take time to settle her affairs or dispose of her property. The Madame being the only witness who could testify in regard to Judge McGowan's being concerned in the affair, of course the charge against him will be dismissed.

"Palmer, Cook & Co. have been hurrying up the tax-collector, and \$138,000 of the people's money has been collected and deposited with them to continue their war against the interests of the people of this county," reports the *Bulletin*. "But we have over-hauled them again, and yesterday the County Treasurer's Office was alarmed at the advice we gave our readers not to pay any more taxes until they know whether the amount charged them was correct or not. . . . A correspondent had called our attention to the fact that a tax of $\frac{1}{8}$ th of one per cent. was being levied on the property of this county to pay the \$10,000 County Bonds due 1st January, when as far back as the 30th of June last, there was nearly double that sum in the Treasury for that purpose! . . . Remember that the late Sheriff, Mr. [W. R.] Gorham, is the *present* collector of taxes. . . . Remember also that Mr. Gorham is reported to be insolvent, that he has confessed judgment in favor of Palmer, Cook & Co. to the extent of over \$24,000 and that Palmer, Cook & Co. have levied on everything they could find. . . ."

December 21. The third of the course of lectures before the Mercantile Library Association was delivered last night by John A. Mills, Esq., whose subject was "The Proscription of the Chinese in California." He favored treating the Celestials with more liberality, and quoted largely from holy writ for the support of his arguments. The report of the County Treasurer of Calaveras discloses that more than one-third of the receipts are derived from the tax paid by the foreign miners, the majority of whom are

Chinese. Bogus two-and-a-half-dollar gold pieces are in circulation. Though lighter than the genuine coin, it is difficult to detect them.

December 22. In the Superior Court, before Judge Shattuck, in the case of Revalk vs. Hanlock, action was brought to recover a penalty of \$500 for breach of contract. Defendant had sold plaintiff a half interest in an artesian well on the corner of Third and Howard streets, for the use of himself and his tenants, for \$100, and the use of the pump on the corner of the street for \$12. There was also a pump connected with the well, on the premises of plaintiff, and another on the premises of the defendant. The defendant removed the pump on the street, and for that the plaintiff brought his action. Judgment was given in favor of the plaintiff, for \$500, and the judge recommended a compromise by dividing the costs and replacing the pump.

"In our Thursday issue," remarks the *Bulletin*, "we stated incidentally that the suit on which Jones and Cohen were held now under contempt was their own suit against the assignees of Adams & Co. We are now informed that there *was* a contempt in that case of theirs also; but under a promise, we are told, from Jones and Cohen of compromising the matter, it was not pushed against them. The *present* case of contempt is the case of Naglee vs. Cohen." The *Bulletin* still advises the tax payers to hold on to their tax money, since it is safer in their pockets than in the vaults of Palmer, Cook & Co.

A letter complaining of the public hack nuisance appeared in the *Bulletin*: "Clay Street, Kearny Street, and Washington Street, in the vicinity of the Plaza, are thronged with these nuisances, hiding our stores and injuring our business, while drivers congregate on the sidewalks and corners, using the most profane and vulgar language. . . . If we are not mistaken there is an ordinance designating the proper place for hacks to stand, which is around the Plaza, and all we ask is to have the law enforced."

A notice appeared in the newspapers, signed by Samuel J. Hensley, Vice President, of the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Pacific and Atlantic Railroad Company, at the office of the Company, No. 49 Montgomery Block, on the 7th of January, 1856, at 2 o'clock P. M. The Post Office Department announces that from the 1st of January next, all letters must bear the post office stamps, or they cannot be sent forward. After that date money will not be received at the Post Office, except in payment for Government stamps.

Joshua S. Silsbee, the well-known Yankee comedian, died this morning at the International Hotel, after an illness of four months. His age was 42 years. The funeral will be conducted by California Lodge, No. 1, F. and A. M.

December 24. The *Bulletin* states that: "On Saturday [December 22] the Supreme Court decided . . . that Jones and Cohen should be remanded into the hands of the Sheriff, and give bail to the extent of \$250,000 to appear again on the first Monday in January under *another* writ their lawyers have sued out, which is called a *certiorari*, and which Noah Webster explains to be a 'writ from a superior court to call up the records of an inferior court (4th District) that it may be tried there.' All of which, we suppose, *means* in plain English that the Supreme Court are about to determine from the records of the 4th District Court whether the judge of the latter Court has exceeded his authority. This gives Palmer, Cook & Co. two weeks more *time*. . . . Every trick that the cunning of Mr. Palmer and his counsel could devise has been brought forth to serve the purposes of these bankers in detaining the money. . . . We are anxious to learn who will go bail to the extent of \$250,000. . . . Remember both Woods and Cohen slipped off only a few months since. We feel satisfied Judge Hager will do what is right. . . ." The *Bulletin* referred its readers to the "able opinion delivered by Judge Terry of the Supreme Court on this case. It is the first opinion delivered by His Honor, we believe, since his election to his present prominent position."

The "card" of Dr. T. H. Parker, "Surgeon Dentist," appeared in the *Bulletin*, addressed "to those who can appreciate truth, and wish to practice economy." He offers "the best of artificial teeth, inserted on fine gold plate from a single tooth to a full set, from \$6.00 to \$10.00; teeth filled with pure gold, \$3.00 to \$5.00; extracting teeth \$1.00, and all other operations in like proportion. 193 Clay Street, over Salvator Rosa's Music Store."

December 25. Mozart's Grand Mass, No. 12, was performed by a full choir at St. Mary's Cathedral this morning, for the first time in California. A charge of \$2.00 was made for admittance, which will be appropriated to the liquidation of debts due by the church.

December 26. The *Bulletin* states that it will oppose both Gwin and Broderick, "as also every bad man that we know to be such. But we have no favorites, and don't care from which party the elected comes. All we want is a *Californian* with *California* feelings and interests at heart." The old propeller *McKim* was sold today by the U. S. Marshal for \$600. The "California Merchants' and Miners' Almanac for 1856" is the title of a new publication of the kind by Warren Mix. This is the fifth year of publication.

A few days ago the *Bulletin* suggested that some five or six persons should club together to make up a present for the orphans of San Francisco "not for meat and bread and clothing, but for trifles, for dolls and picture books." The appeal has been responded to beyond all expectation. To one asylum alone a present of \$300 was sent in; and on Christmas eve, Kohler, on Stockton Street, sent from his toy shop two large parcels of toys, one to the Protestant and the other to the Catholic Asylum, as a present from himself to the orphans. A visitor to the Protestant Orphan Asylum yesterday reports that a number of the little boys' eyes appeared to be affected with soreness. The same epidemic, it is said, prevails also at the Catholic Asylum, and it is known to occur in some parts of the mines among adults. "What is the cause of this evil? Can no remedy be suggested?" asks the *Bulletin*.

December 27. The Independent Water Company advertise that they "are prepared to supply shipping with the *best spring water* from their reservoirs at Hunter's Point, at the shortest possible notice and on the most reasonable terms. Orders for the supply of ships will be promptly attended to at the office of Samuel Price & Co., Battery Street." Mt. Moriah and Lebanon lodges of F. and A. Masons, installed their officers for the ensuing year, this evening. P. W. Shephard, P. M., delivered an able address; after which John F. Damon, P. M. of Lebanon, conducted the exercises. A grand ball was given in Musical Hall after the ceremonies.

A through freight line has been established between this city and New York, and on the 12th of January the first steamer, the *Panama*, will be dispatched by Messrs. Forbes & Babcock. Tomorrow afternoon Wainwright, Randall & Co., at the junction of Montgomery, Post, and Market streets, will sell thirteen American milch cows at auction, four of them with calves three to five weeks old, and five with calves coming on within a month. The Post Office closed this morning at 10 o'clock, since which hour all hands have been engaged in preparations for removal. The office will be opened tomorrow morning in the new Custom House building. It has nearly 2,000 boxes, three-fourths of which are provided with locks.

A letter signed "Mel-Wel" and dated December 26, appeared in the *Bulletin*: "While in the mines, the company I worked with were sadly troubled with this soreness of the eyes you speak of in to-day's paper as prevailing among the orphans. After trying lotions, cataplasms, and all the usual remedies, without doing any good, I tried the old woman's remedy of punching or boring the ears, and left a piece of woolen yarn

in, to be drawn through a little every day; and it did wonders. Not one lost their sight, though several were blind before their ears were bored, and by giving gentle laxatives the cure was much quickened."

In the Fourth District Court, before F. J. Lippitt, Referee, in the case of Adams & Co., it was declared by Mr. Cohen's counsel yesterday that Mr. Cohen was now ready to answer the questions which he had refused to answer before. Mr. Park, however, said that the willingness to answer now would not purge him of the previous contempt. He had taken out a certificate of the contempt for the purpose of bringing it before the Court, and did not want to ask any more questions until they were decided. The examination of Jones will be resumed today.

Joseph W. Winans, Esq., delivered a lecture for the Mercantile Library Association at Musical Hall, on "The Dignity of Labor." Governor Bigler is now in our city on official business.

December 28. The splendid clipper ship *Flying Fish* arrived yesterday morning in 105 days from Boston. There have been only two more speedy voyages made during the year. The *Flying Fish* made the same trip once before in precisely the same number of days.

December 29. "California experience has proved that in a community where a bank note circulation is prohibited by the laws and the Constitution of the State, it is quite possible to have bank failures, and that a specie currency alone, will not of itself, secure the depositor the savings which his industry and prudence have enabled him to lay by. Some legislation on the subject is imperatively demanded for the security of the public at large who deposit their capital or their savings with bankers," remarked the *Bulletin* this evening. After summarizing the history of banking in this State, the editor continued: "It will require some months yet to overcome the shock given to the credit of bankers in San Francisco by the run in February last. . . . It is desirable for the general interests of the community that credit should be restored, but we think it will not be fully under our present system of banking. . . . We believe the present system of banking in this state is not a good one, and that legislative enactments are needed to correct it."

The San Francisco Female Institute on Stockton Street, under the charge of the Rev. J. Avery Shepherd, will reopen Monday, the 7th prox. The *State Tribune* (quoted in the *Bulletin*) suggests as a motto for Billy Mulligan's new paper, "The Pen is mightier than the fist!" and for its vignette, "a likeness of the editor *rampant*, with that of Yankee Sullivan *couchant*—the dexter ear of the latter embellishing the foreground." The agents of the Steam Navigation Company advertise that they will charge only half price for passengers who desire to visit Sacramento on the occasion of the inauguration of Governor Johnson. The magnificent steamer *Golden Gate* having been refitted, will be dispatched for Panama on the 5th prox. Her able commander, A. V. H. Leroy, Esq., will be on duty.

In the Twelfth District Court, before Judge Norton, in the case of A. Holland and others vs. the City of San Francisco, judgment was given this morning on a motion to discharge the attachment levied on certain funds in the hands of the City Treasurer. The Court held that these funds are not liable to attachment and that the Treasurer might go on making his disbursements. The funds raised by taxes were also declared to be exempt.

December 30. The Folsom estate sale is advertised to come off soon under the auspices of Selover, Sinton & Co., auctioneers.

December 31. The claim of the Most Rev. Joseph S. Alemany for land for the use of the Indians at the several Missions in California was rejected in the U. S. Land Com-

mission, before Commissioner Felch. One hundred pounds of candy has been donated to the Protestant Orphan Asylum by Colborn & Sands, confectioners, Sacramento, and their employees, as a New Year's present.

A review of the trade, commerce, and resources of California for the year ending December 31, 1855, appeared in the *Alta California*. The trade of the year 1855 opened rather inauspiciously. The regular rain had not yet set in; the country was well supplied with goods; and the mining interests, owing to drought, were almost prostrate. The stores of merchandise already in the hands of consignees were ample, and a large fleet of clipper ships laden with further supplies was then on the way from Atlantic ports to our shores. In the early part of January, however, trade was slightly stimulated by the appearance of rain, and a speculative movement in particular lines of goods was apparent. Large lots of flour, the great barometer of trade, changed hands at enhanced figures. Other articles moved in sympathy, and for a short period a general revival was anticipated; but the speculative movements proved premature, and prices receded to the closing rates of the preceding year. About the middle of February, the long-delayed rainy season set in, and the beneficial effect on trade was at once observed. . . . Few, however, could have apprehended that at that moment we were on the eve of a monetary crisis which was to paralyze the energies of the country for months to come. The failure of two leading banking houses, and the crash which involved the entire financial affairs of the country arrested the improving tendencies of trade. Business was further encumbered by the arrival of a number of large vessels freighted with merchandise. So great was the money pressure that for days these vessels lay in their berths without discharging; the inability of the consignees to meet freight charges being the alleged cause. From this prostration, business was slow to recover, and we consequently find that during the spring and early summer months, prices of most articles of merchandise were below the cost of importation. Exports fell off. Goods at length came to hand more sparingly; and because of a fair country demand during May and June, stocks in jobbing hands became considerably reduced, and by the middle of July prices of most articles had assumed a decided advancing tendency. . . . The fall trade to the interior was a large one, and until the middle of November, trade continued active; but for the last six weeks, excepting in some descriptions of agricultural products, it has been light.

The excess of exports over imports during the year 1855 was as follows:

Flour 71,608 bbls.....	value \$	608,668.00
Wheat 9,742,800 lbs.....	value	170,499.00
Barley 10,861,800 lbs.....	value	190,081.50
Oats 3,304,490 lbs.....	value	57,828.50
		\$1,027,077.00

A mercantile interest of great importance to California is the whaling business of the Pacific. From what has transpired within the last year, it is clearly evident that a disposition exists on the part of the whalers to make this their place of resort for repairs and refitting, as well as for the purpose of transshipment of cargoes to the Atlantic ports. For such purposes greater facilities are attainable here than at any other port in the Pacific. A spacious dry dock for repairs, ship supplies at prices little, if any, in advance of the rates in Eastern cities, and the certainty of obtaining at all times ample tonnage, are certain inducements which no other port adjacent to the whaling grounds

presents. The number of whaling vessels arriving during 1855 materially exceeded that of either of the two preceding years.

VESSELS

Number of vessels (of all kinds) arriving at this port in 1853.....	1,902
1854.....	1,893
1855.....	1,606

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

Number of persons arriving by sea in 1853.....	35,396
1854.....	50,047
1855.....	31,698
	117,141
Number of persons leaving in 1853.....	30,001
1854.....	23,518
1855.....	22,740
	76,259
Total increase by sea in three years.....	40,882

GOLD SHIPMENTS

Gold shipped from this port in 1851.....	\$ 34,492,000
1852.....	45,587,803
1853.....	54,905,000
1854.....	51,429,101
1855.....	44,640,090
Total shipment for five years.....	\$231,053,994

RECAPITULATION OF TRANSACTIONS OF THE MINT SINCE COMMENCEMENT OF OPERATIONS

Deposits

Gold deposits, 1854.....	589,774.14 oz.
Gold deposits, 1855.....	1,174,443.48 oz.
Silver deposits, 1855.....	142,216.10 oz.
Total deposits since April 3, 1854.....	1,906,433.72 oz.

Coinage

Gold coinage, 1854.....	\$ 9,723,514.25
Gold coinage, 1855.....	20,957,677.43
Silver coinage, 1855.....	164,075.00
	\$30,845,266.68

Colville's San Francisco *Directory for the Year Commencing October, 1856*, states that "during the year 1855, one hundred and ninety-seven persons applied to the courts for the benefit of the insolvency act. Many of these failures were for large amounts, and although a large portion of the losses had to be borne by persons out of the State, the effects in the city were very serious and discouraging. Business reached a point of depression which had never been felt before. . . . And yet more than forty-five millions of gold were shipped from the city during the year, besides all which went by private hands, and which doubtless amounted to several millions, although not entered at the Custom House. . . . Seventy-two millions pounds of flour were shipped for markets out of the State. The entire exports exceeded four millions of dollars in value. Freight, paid upon goods from foreign ports, exceeded four millions of dollars. During the year, two hundred and sixty-seven marriages occurred in the city; seventy-two applications for divorce were made, and forty-one petitions for dissolution of the silken bands were granted. Instead of silken bands, perhaps the term gossamer were more appropriate. . . . During the year, the losses by the various fires which occurred, amounted to over two millions of dollars."

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

THE SOCIETY held a luncheon meeting on March 8, 1938, at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, at which the speaker was Mr. Rodney S. Ellsworth, of the State Park Service. He spoke on the place in the western movement of the Redwood Pioneer. Source material for the talk was gathered over a period of eight years, from reminiscences of pioneers in the Big Basin region of Santa Cruz County. The talk was accompanied by lantern slides depicting the salient aspects of making a home in the wilderness and finding sustenance in the unbroken forest. These included the work of the Redwood pioneer in the erection of the dwelling and incidents of family life, centering upon adjustment to food afforded by raw nature and the attendant hardships. There were twenty-eight members and guests present.

The Society met for luncheon at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel on April 12, 1938, with Major Charles L. Tilden as the speaker. The subject was "William C. Ralston and His Times." Major Tilden called attention to the fact that he was past eighty years of age and, as a messenger boy from his father's law office, had seen all of the men who made the circle in which Ralston moved in the 70's. But it was not from this boyish contact that his impressions were gained. His father had had many contacts with Ralston, both social, political and in business matters. Major Tilden himself had been designated to examine Ralston's personal books in a suit brought by some of his creditors against William Sharon for an accounting of his handling of Ralston's estate.

From his observations Major Tilden said unhesitatingly that he deemed Ralston a great man. He was generous, fair, enterprising and public spirited. In his opinion he was honest. But he was in the forefront of a community of speculators who played for high stakes and took long chances. Such was the

business community of California in those days. When the great depression of 1873 began to be felt out here, both Ralston and his bank were carrying more enterprises than their resources could stand. Both went down to failure. The speaker's closing words were, "A great man—a sad ending."

There were fifty-eight members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE

At the luncheon meeting of the California Historical Society held Tuesday, May 24, 1938, Miss Louise Taber talked on the lives of four California pioneers, Immanuel C. C. Russ, James Lick, John Geary and Robert Woodward. Russ arrived with his family with Stevenson's Regiment in 1847 and immediately obtained lots in San Francisco, which he was able to do by merely filing a petition with the Alcalde and paying the nominal fees. His was the first jewelry store in San Francisco. He soon became wealthy and built the Russ House on the site of the present Russ Building, also the Russ Gardens on Harrison Street, which became a popular amusement center.

James Lick was also one of the early arrivals in San Francisco. He had been in the furniture business and was already rather wealthy when he arrived here. He was a rather eccentric character and when in the gold fields always wore a top hat and long coat. In San Jose he erected an expensive solid mahogany flour mill and lived in a little shack in comparative poverty near this pretentious building. Later he returned to San Francisco and built the Lick House, which was the "Astor House" of the Pacific Coast.

John Geary was in San Francisco but three years, yet during that time he did more than any other one man to help establish a sound government in the city. He was the first postmaster, the last alcalde and the town's first mayor. Some of the first civic improvements were made under his supervision by the levying of a tax on gambling.

Robert Woodward, an early patron of the arts, was of course famous for his gardens which were one of the more important amusement spots in San Francisco.

LOIS H. McVEIGH

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

ADLAND, ELEANOR

On the sunset trail, a book of California with 23 illustrations reproduced from photographs. London: Ed. J. Burrow & Co., Ltd. [1937]. 34 pp.

BENSON, IVAN

Mark Twain's western years, together with hitherto unreprinted Clemens western items. Stanford University: Stanford University Press [1938]. x+218 pp. (incl. index), ill.

BOOK CLUB OF CALIFORNIA

Coast and valley towns of early California: No. 1—San Francisco, text by Douglas S. Watson; No. 2—Monterey, text by George L. Harding; No. 3—Sacramento City, text by Caroline Wenzel; No. 4—Santa Barbara, text by Edith M. Coulter; No. 5—Santa Cruz, text by George Tays.

CHICKERING, ALLEN L.

Growing Calochortus. Monographs, Horticultural series, number 1, May 1938. Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden of the Native Plants of California, Santa Ana Cañon, Orange County, California. 18 pp. (incl. index).

CLEMENS, SAMUEL

Letters from the Sandwich Islands written for the Sacramento *Union* by Mark Twain. Introduction & conclusion by G. Ezra Dane. Illustrations by Dorothy Grover. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1938. xii+224 pp. [A photolith reprint of the now much sought after and therefore costly Grabhorn edition. The Stanford University Press is to be congratulated for making this item available to all at a moderate price.]

—The Washoe giant in San Francisco being heretofore uncollected sketches by Mark Twain published in the Golden Era in the sixties including Those blasted children, The Lick House ball, The Kearny Street ghost story, Fitz Smythe's horse, and thirty-four more items by the wild humorist of the Pacific slope. With many drawings by Lloyd Hoff. Collected and edited with an introduction by Franklin Walker. San Francisco: George Fields, 1938.

COWAN, ROBERT ERNEST

1850-1870 Forgotten characters of old San Francisco. Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1938. 65 pp., ill.

FIREMAN'S FUND

Seventy-five eventful years, 1863-1938. San Francisco: Fireman's Fund *Record*, Vol. LX, No. 5, May, 1938.

INGALLS, JOHN

California letters of the gold rush period, the correspondence of John Ingalls, 1849-1851, edited by R. W. G. Vail. Worcester, Massachusetts, 1938. Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1937.

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines, and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used.

KELLEY, CHARLES (ed.)

Journals of John D. Lee 1846-47 and 1859. Salt Lake City: Privately printed for Rolla Bishop Watt by Western Printing Company, 1938. 244+[vii] pp. of index, ill. [Lee, a Mormon, participated in the Mountain Meadows Massacre.]

LEWIS, OSCAR

Men against mountains. [In *Atlantic Monthly*, April, May, June and July, 1938. To be published in book form by Alfred A. Knopf under the title, "The Big Four."]

MORLEY, S. GRISWOLD

The covered bridges of California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938. vii+92 pp., ill.

PRIESTLEY, HERBERT INGRAM (ed. and trans.)

Exposition addressed to the Chamber of Deputies of the Congress of the Union by Señor Don Carlos Antonio Carrillo, Deputy for Alta California, concerning the regulation and administration of the Pious Fund. San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1938. xx+15 pp.

RENSCH, H. E. AND E. G.

Historic by-ways to spring. In the land of the Suisunes. In *National Motorist*, April, 1938.

VAN TUYLE, BERT (comp.)

Know your California. Interesting, historical, odd and unusual places in the State. Second edition. Los Angeles: E. F. Wallace Press. 71 pp.

WELLS, HARRY L.

California names. Over two thousand five hundred place names, individual names, words and phrases in common use in the Golden State, spelled, pronounced, defined and explained. Los Angeles: Kellaway-Ide Company [1938]. 93 pp.

WHITE, STEWART EDWARD

Old California in picture and story. Illustrated in color and black and white from contemporary prints. New York: Doubleday Doran & Company Inc., 1937. xii+122 pp. [Illustrations reproduced from *California on Stone*, by Harry T. Peters.]

WOLF, LINNIE MARSH (ed.)

John of the Mountains. The unpublished journals of John Muir, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938. xxii+459 pp. (incl. index), ill.

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Andrews, Mrs. Rosalie Y.	San Jose	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Garner, Mrs. Bess A.	Claremont	Mr. Garfield D. Merner
Hecht, Miss Edith	San Francisco	Ms. John O. Gantner
McCoy, Frank J.	Santa Maria	Mr. Guy J. Giffen
Powers, Mrs. Laura Bride	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy Huggins
San Francisco College for Women	San Francisco	Miss Frances Molera

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

March 1 through May 31, 1938

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Clemens [Samuel L.], *Mark Twain's letter to William Bowen, Buffalo, February sixth, 1870*, San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1938.

From THE BOOK CLUB OF CALIFORNIA—*Coast and valley towns of early California*: No. 1—San Francisco, text by Douglas S. Watson; No. 2—Monterey, text by George L. Harding; No. 3—Sacramento City, text by Caroline Wenzel; No. 4—Santa Barbara, text by Edith M. Coulter.

From MRS. NORA VINES CHAMBERS—Holme, Garnet, *California's greatest outdoor play, Ramona*, adapted from the novel by Helen Hunt Jackson.

From MR. ALLEN L. CHICKERING—Chickering, Allen L., *Growing Calochortus*, Horticultural Series, No. 1, of Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden, May, 1938.

From MISS ALICE EASTWOOD—*Leaflets of Western Botany*, Vol. II, No. 6, April 16, 1938.

From MR. ALFRED I. ESBERG—*The Valley road: a history of the Traffic Association of California; the League of Progress; the North American Navigation Company; the Merchants' Shipping Association and the San Francisco and San Joaquin Valley Railway*, S. F., 1896; Ewing, W. A. D., *The little book of moral philosophy*, [San Francisco], 1857; Gillet, Félix, *Les Indiens de la Californie*, Paris [1876?]; [Jones, A. H.], *A response to the exposition of the Cincinnati and Mackinaw Railroad*, Pensacola, Fla., 1854; Thomson, J. R., *Speech on the conquest of California delivered in the U. S. Senate*, Washington, 1856; "The Pioneers" (small scrapbook of clippings from a S. F. newspaper, Sept. 9, 1884).

From FIREMAN'S FUND INSURANCE COMPANY—*Seventy-five eventful years, 1863-1938*, San Francisco: Fireman's Fund Insurance Company [1938].

From MISS ILIONE HURLBUT—In memoriam, George Canning Hurlbut, reprint from *Bulletin of American Geographical Society*, Jan., Feb., 1909; sketch-book of pencil drawings made by Mrs. Sarah H. Hurlbut in the late 60's.

From MR. A. S. MACDONALD—Hunter, Graham C., *John Muir, Mystic*, reprinted from *Religion in Life*, Spring number, 1938.

From NORWEGIAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION—Qualey, Carleton C., *Norwegian settlement in the United States*, Northfield, Minn., 1938.

From MRS. PHILIP ROWE—Boies, H. M., *Invention as the primal factor of national growth*, American Association of Inventors and Manufacturers, 1898; Hallidie, A. S., MS Diary, Liverpool to San Francisco via New York, 1852; idem, *An address before the Century Club of San Francisco* [S. F., 1890]; idem, *The California School of Mechanical Arts*; idem, *Patent laws—the inventor and the nation*, American Association of Inventors and Manufacturers; and other pamphlets by A. S. Hallidie.

From SAUNDERS STUDIO PRESS—Meyer, Carl, *Bound for Sacramento*, trans. by Ruth Frey Axe, Claremont: Saunders Studio Press, 1938.

From MRS. JOSIAH W. STANFORD—2 Registers (MSS) of Warm Springs Hotel, April 27, 1859, to May 30, 1864; June 3, 1864, to May 2, 1869.

From UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS—Morley, S. Griswold, *The covered bridges of California*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938.

From MR. R. W. G. VAIL—Vail, R. W. G. (ed.), *California letters of the gold rush period: the correspondence of John Ingalls, 1849-1851*, reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1937, Worcester, Mass., 1938.

From MRS. HENRY R. WAGNER—Wagner, Blanche Collet, *The streets of Mexico*, San Francisco: George Fields, 1937.

From MR. H. R. WAGNER—Keller, A. S.; Lissitzyn, O. J.; and Mann, Frederick J., *Creation of rights of sovereignty through symbolic acts, 1400-1800*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

From WARD RITCHIE PRESS—Cowan, Robert E., *Forgotten characters of old San Francisco*, Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1938.

From MRS. VAN RENSSELAER WILBUR—Wagner, Blanche Collet, *Tales of Mayaland*, Pasadena: San Pasqual Press, 1938; Wilbur, Marguerite Eyer (tr.), *Duflot de Mofras' travels on the Pacific Coast*, Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1937 (2 vols.).

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—U. S. Senate, 32d Cong., 1st Sess., Ex. Doc. No. 3. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey for the year ending November, 1851*, Washington, 1852.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. E. BIANCHI, JR.—Photostat of page of S. F. *Chronicle*, Nov. 17, 1901, headed "Old Time Opera," with photograph of the donor and his wife inserted (framed).

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Lithographs: Auburn, California; Angela Peralta, by Britton & Rey; Bird's eye view of Oakland, 1881; Bird's eye view of Placerville, 1888; Photographs: Alhambra Theatre, San Francisco; Lincoln School, S. F.; Maps: City of San Francisco, pub. by the U. S. Coast Survey, 1859; Public surveys of Calif. and Nevada, 1866; Sketch of General Riley's Route to the Mining Districts, July and August, 1849; Topographical Map of Sierra County, Charles W. Hendel, 1874.

From MR. J. A. PETERS—Panoramic View of San Francisco after the Terrible Fire of April 18, 19, 20, 21, 1906.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Wood-cut: "Great Excitement in San Francisco—Front of the Jail—The Vigilance Committee Taking Possession of Cora and Casey"; photographs (stereoscopic views): "Washoe Indians; Schonschis Rock—Lava Beds in the distance."

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Bronze plaque of head of George D. Roberts.

From MR. A. I. ESBERG—Poster of auction on Brig *Taranto*, Sacramento City, Feb. 20, 1850; another, Feb. 22, 1850; 3 letters of Edward D. Weld, San Francisco, May 30, Aug. 28, and Nov. 12, 1850; Authority from his associates in Trenton, N. J., to Edward D. Weld, November 28, 1850; Vol. 1, No. 1, of *Daily Evening Post*, San Francisco, Dec. 4, 1871.

From NATIONAL SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA—3 cuts from their publication, *Russians in California*.

From MR. J. A. PETERS—Scrapbook containing newspaper clippings, theatrical programs, etc.

From MRS. PHILIP ROWE—Certificate of baptism of Andrew H. Smith (later A. S. Hallidie); receipt for passage of A. Smith on Ship *Brutus*, March 16, 1852, signed "Garrison & Fretz, pr. Ralston"; Receipt from Commissioner of Emigrants, S. F., for commutation money from Andrew H. Smith; 14 articles by A. S. Hallidie in his own handwriting; 7 letters of A. S. Hallidie to his wife; 3 other letters to or concerning him; various newspaper and magazine clippings concerning Hallidie and his inventions; glass negative of portrait of A. S. Hallidie.

In Memoriam

FRED TILDEN ELSEY

1876-1938

Fred Tilden Elsey died suddenly at his home, 2006 Washington Street, San Francisco, on February 28, 1938. He was born in Oakland, September 28, 1876, the son of a "Forty-niner." His mother had come to California in a covered wagon.

His schooling was received in the Oakland public schools. From the Oakland High School he went into the offices of Haggin & Tevis. Closely identified with James B. Haggin and Lloyd Tevis was Senator George Hearst. Fred Elsey was raised in the environment of these three outstanding pioneers. Their interests made him familiar with agricultural lands, cattle ranges, water rights in California, Arizona and New Mexico, the Homestake Mine in South Dakota, and mining interests in Mexico, Utah and Idaho.

These earlier experiences fitted him to enter successfully new fields. He guided the growth of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and the California Pacific Title and Trust Company. Under his leadership as president, the American Trust Company became one of the leading banking institutions of the Pacific Coast.

During the span of only three score years, Fred Elsey worked with pioneers who were giants. His strong, quiet influence carried on their traditions in building and shaping the future of his native State. He never married.

THOMAS W. NORRIS

FRANCES RAND SMITH

1872-1938

Mrs. Frances Rand Smith, who died on February 14, 1938, after one month's illness, was known for her research and writing on early California missions. She received her early education at the place of her birth, Manitowoc, Wisconsin, and entered Stanford University on coming to California in 1893. In 1896 she became the wife of a member of the Stanford faculty, the late Dr. James Perrin Smith, a well-known geologist, whose death occurred in 1931. Four children were born of this union, all of whom survive their parents and reside within the State. The family home has always been in Palo Alto.

Mrs. Smith was a member of the Stanford Women's Faculty Club from its beginning and served a term as its president about 1914. She also assisted in Parent-Teacher Association activities while her children were in the public

schools. Her later interests were historical in trend. She was a member of the California Historical Society.

Actuated by a desire to appreciate the historic buildings of Europe, should opportunity to visit them arrive, she early became interested in architecture, giving particular attention to the oldest structures to be found near at hand—the Franciscan missions in California. She consulted books and manuscripts, and, not content with these alone, she went to the missions themselves to make detailed drawings.

In 1921 she published *Architectural History of Mission San Carlos Borromeo*. This was followed by *The Spanish Missions of California* and *The Burial Place of Junipero Serra* in 1924. In 1932 *The Mission of San Antonio de Padua* was published.

During the years immediately preceding her death she had been working on the history of the town of Palo Alto which has not as yet been published.

MILDRED BROOKE HOOVER

PERSONALIA AND MARGINALIA

In the March *Quarterly* it was announced that the Society had moved into its new quarters in Pioneer Hall, 456 McAllister Street, in San Francisco's Civic Center, and the members were advised that the formal opening of the rooms would soon be held. To carry out this purpose, President Chickering appointed Mrs. Daniel Volkmann as chairman, and Mrs. Gantner, Mr. Aubrey Drury, Dr. A. T. Leonard, Jr., Mr. Walter A. Starr and Mr. Douglas S. Watson as members of a committee to take charge of the event. This committee determined to hold four evening receptions, June 1 to June 4, inclusive, and invitations to the number of fifteen hundred were sent to members, their friends, civic officials, and to the officers and members of various organizations whose interests touch the main object of this Society: viz, the gathering, preservation and dissemination of matters relating to the history of California and the West. These receptions were attended by some twelve hundred enthusiastic visitors, to each of whom was given a printed souvenir of the occasion furnished through the courtesy of Mr. Lawton R. Kennedy. Thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Volkmann, who presided over the initial evening's entertainment, both the library and the museum were lavishly decorated with flowers and growing plants. The Society is also greatly indebted to Mrs. Gantner, Mr. Walter A. Starr and Dr. Leonard, each of whom took charge of one of the evening receptions, and to Mr. Drury who supervised the publicity. In the opinion of all who attended, the formal opening of the Society's new home was an outstanding success.